

20  
W. L. Brown  
Gay

THE  
NATIONAL  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

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*Pulchrum est bene facere reipublice, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.*

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VOL. XXXI. No. LXII. SEPTEMBER, 1875.

NEW YORK :

EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,  
658 BROADWAY.

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GENERAL AGENTS: AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, NEW YORK.

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1875.

# Sewing Machine Sales

*For 1874.*

The SINGER MANUFACTURING COMPANY Sold 241,679 Machines.

Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Company	“	92,827	“
Howe Sewing Machine Company, estimated,	“	35,000	“
Domestic Sewing Machine Company	“	22,700	“
Weed Sewing Machine Company	“	20,495	“
Grover & Baker Sewing Machine Co., estimated	“	20,000	“
Remington Empire Sewing Machine Company	“	17,608	“
Wilson Sewing Machine Company	“	17,525	“
Gold Medal Sewing Machine Company	“	15,214	“
Wilcox & Gibbs Sewing Machine Company	“	13,710	“
American B. H., &c., Sewing Machine Company	“	13,529	“
Victor Sewing Machine Company	“	6,292	“
Florence Sewing Machine Company	“	5,517	“
Secor Sewing Machine Company	“	4,541	“
J. E. Braunsdorf & Co., Ætna,	“	1,866	“
Bartram & Fanton Sewing Machine Company	“	250	“
McKay Sewing Machine Association	“	128	“
Keystone Sewing Machine Company	“	37	“

The Singer Manufacturing Company,

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Surplus over Liability, . . .	\$1,987,677 17

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Accumulated Assets, . . . . .	\$6,555,828
Surplus January 1st, 1875, . . . . .	711,982
Number of Policies issued in 1874, . . . . .	6,300
Total Number of Policies issued, . . . . .	68,100

## TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL STATEMENT

OF THE

# AMERICAN Life Insurance Company

OF

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S. E. Cor. Fourth and Walnut Sts.,  
*For the Year Ending December 31st, 1873.*

### RECEIPTS.

Premiums received during the year.....	\$1,175,737 39
Interest received from Investments and Rents.....	254,623 56
	<hr/>
	\$1,420,360 95
Surplus Premiums returned to Insured and Dividends....	\$306,743 72
Assets January 1, 1874, \$4,450,266 75.	

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## 1874 EIGHTH ANNUAL ANNOUNCEMENT 1874

OF THE

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IN

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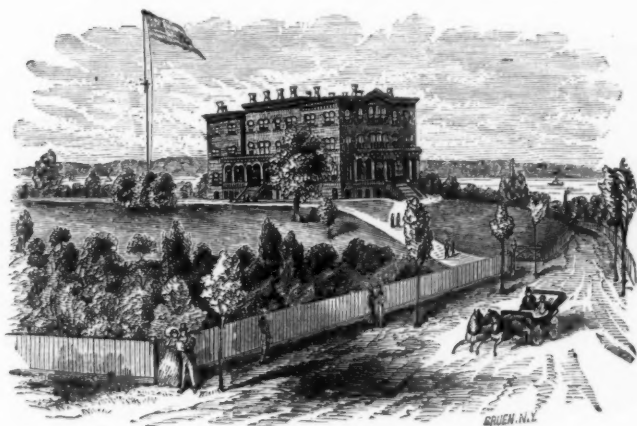
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THE  
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No. LXII.

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SEPTEMBER, 1875.

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- ART. I.—1. *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* By JOSEPH BINGHAM, M. A. 9 vols. Vol. vii. London. 1840.
2. *Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce.* By H. D. MORGAN, M. A. 2 vols. London. 1826.
3. *Ancient Law.* By Sir HENRY MAINE. London. 1868.

THE conflict between the two opposing, and, as yet, irreconcilable methods of thought—the secular or rational, and the spiritual or ecclesiastical—is nowhere more strikingly manifest than in the progress of law and opinion concerning the marriage relation. Rude forms of this conflict may be traced in the social phenomena of people the most barbaric, showing that the leaven of civilization was early implanted in the human mind. Less rude and more strongly marked evidence of it may be observed among races slightly removed from the barbaric, and still more strongly among those that may be said to be semi-civilized, embracing by far the greater part of the warlike nations of the present age. Our own era shows some indications of its decline; but those indications are limited to a few localities, here and there, and are by no means as promising as they might be, or as over-hopeful people presume them to be.

In pagan Rome, in the days of her ascendancy, the conflict between these two opposing systems had nearly died out, in respect to the natural status of marriage, by the institution of the civil compact. The same may be said of some of the contemporary States of the East, whose laws and customs were strongly influenced by, if not clearly derived from, those of Rome. If the rites and ceremonies of religion were not altogether ignored in solemnizing the marital compact, in these ancient civilizations, they were considered entirely subordinate to the civil process. The laws of the State gave validity to a matrimonial compact contracted in accordance with its civil provisions, the religious ceremonial being called in, if at all, as a convenient, pleasing, and eminently fitting means of celebrating an event already *un fait accompli*. The sacrifice of a sheep and the *farreum libum*; the use of the coronal wreath; the flammeum, or veil; the final address of the priest to the gods, etc., although usual accompaniments of the highest form of marriage—that of *Confarreatio*, in the ancient empire—were neither less nor more essential to the validity of that social compact than are the ring, the floral offerings, the altar, the benediction, or, in fact, the missal itself, in the British Empire to-day. While these forms, or modifications of them, are eminently befitting the occasion they celebrate, they are, at the same time, eminently spectacular, and as distinct from the real as shadow from substance, the jewel from the casket which contains it, or the symbol from the sacrifice which it represents.

This conclusion of the subject was reached by the most advanced of mankind more than two thousand years ago, and incorporated in the civil code—the Roman code—which is the basis of the civil jurisprudence of the civilized world to-day. But it was destined to be disputed, and finally to be wholly ignored, at least for a time. With the decline of the power and prestige of the Roman Empire, some of the best of her laws and customs fell into disuse. The good and the bad shared a common fate—were branded with the same obloquy, which was fittingly expressed in the word *pagan*.

The new faith, which was gradually evolved from the ruins of the old by an inspiration which, if not of heaven, was certainly superior to any thing of the kind the world had known, looked with disfavor upon all customs and institutions of a religious character that had been sanctioned by the laws of the old *régime*. Three or four centuries under the new dispensation sufficed to eradicate the old ideas and methods from the mind of mankind, and to indoctrinate it with those of the new. While, in the old, or pagan dispensation, the highest ideal of life and duty was patriotism, or fidelity to the State, in the new, or Christian, the highest ideal of life and duty was fidelity to God. In the one, mental accomplishments and worldly fame were the sufficient reward of a noble life; in the other, the only reward looked for, or desired, for a life well spent, was the love of God and the hope of heaven. It was not unnatural then, that, under the inspiration of the new dispensation, theology, or the science of the Godhead, became the dominant philosophy. Christianity was a theocracy no less than was Judaism. Man no longer lived for himself, for the race, but for the glory of God. Even the rites and offices of religion, which became man's chief occupation, were performed less on his own account, and in his own behalf, than in and for the service and glory of God. The kingdom of the one was of this world; that of the other was of the world to come. To the one this world was a vale of tears, full of losses, crosses, and disappointments, to be endured for a time, with no hope of amelioration, as a suitable preparation for another; the other, while recognizing the evils of this world, which were obvious enough, could not but regard the earth as man's rightful inheritance, and eminently worthy every possible effort for its cultivation and improvement, since his own immediate welfare, as well as that of future generations, were closely identified with it. The one was pre-eminently secular and practical, and left the occult problems of a life beyond the grave to be dealt with face to face, in their proper time and place; the other was pre-eminently theologic and spiritual, and did not hesitate to sacrifice the earthly, temporal destiny,

if, by doing so, that of the eternal might be doubly exalted and secured. In brief, the supreme authority of one was reason, while that of the other was revelation.

Looking at these diverging ideas of life and duty at this distance, in the light of the experience of eighteen hundred years, we cannot be altogether insensible of the faults and virtues of both. The time will come when each will acknowledge its indebtedness to the other, and meet each other upon a common basis of mutual understanding. That epoch would, indeed, be near at hand, if it were not so difficult for many good people, and all bad ones, to distinguish between the apparent and the real, the spirit and the letter. If it were possible for the brave contestants of the world's thought—or lack of thought—to exchange positions, to alternately occupy each other's point of observation, now and then, there would be less hostile clashings of opinion, if, indeed, the fundamental differences which provoke them were not thereby readily composed. Those who doubt the power of a living faith, when thoroughly believed and resolutely lived, have read the early history of Christianity to little purpose. The truth of Christ, at first accepted only by a few well-chosen, self-sacrificing souls, was of slow growth, although it fell upon fallow ground, and under conditions the most propitious. But, like the acorn, planted in congenial soil, and ministered unto by a congenial sun and atmosphere, it took deep root, and, in time, developed into mighty proportions. Beginning with the lowly and despised, the suffering and oppressed, it spread by degrees to the better circumstanced classes, and finally indoctrinated the rich and the influential. Being at first a religion pure, simple, unpretentious, addressed to the heart and taking hold of the life, developing in the character the fruits of the spirit and ideal conceptions of a higher and a nobler existence, it became, under the manipulations of the Greek and Roman speculative philosophers—an Athanasius and an Ambrose, a Chrysostom and a Cyprian, a Gregory and a Tertullian—a most subtle and abstruse theology. And, finally, when it fell a victim to the crafty patronage of kings, emperors, and

ambassadors, it was gradually transformed into a vast ecclesiasticism. These results, so foreign to its original aim and conception, so inconsistent with the humble teaching of the divine Jesus, were mostly accomplished during the first four centuries of the new era, and were the legitimate sequences of worldly compromise and political contamination.\*

Thus, firmly established in the great centres of the world's thought and activity, in the foci of learning and philosophy, of political power and court intrigue, Christianity finally became the dominant force of Europe. With equal facility it formulated laws and annulled them; made dynasties and unmade them; put kings on thrones and took them off thrones.

Councils, exclusively composed of bishops and other accredited Christian dignitaries, not only prescribed the limitations of knowledge and decided upon what was useful and what injurious, what was worth knowing and what not, in art and literature, but definitively settled the merits of scientific discovery. The decrees of these ecclesiastical councils were superior to the civil statutes in all matters, religious

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\* Mosheim states that, with the evil of giving a forced interpretation to the Scriptures that was practiced by the learned Clement and others in the second century, after the example of the celebrated Philo, "was connected another that proved equally detrimental to the interest of Christianity. For, not content with thus perverting and straining the Holy Scriptures, in support of such philosophical tenets as they deemed just and reasonable, the Christians of the Ammonian school, with a view to illustrate, still more clearly, the perfect accordance of human with divine wisdom, and in this way the more readily to draw over philosophers to their side, proceeded to the further length of giving to the most plain and obvious maxims and precepts of the Gospel such an exposition as might render them apparently consistent with the philosophical notions and opinions which they had so unfortunately been led to espouse."—(*History of Christianity, the First Three Centuries*, vol. i., section xxxiv.) These practices began in the second century, and continued with an ingenuity still more subtle during the third century—*vide* citations from the ancient writings given in Mosheim's notes to his history. The endeavors of the early Christians to reconcile revelation with philosophy is not without its parallel in modern times; and, if the conscientious Mosheim were living to-day, we dare not presume to say in what language he would characterize it.



and ecclesiastical, and in many of those that were purely civil and political. Thus arose a new kind of law—canonical law—and a new kind of court—spiritual courts—for the adjudication of causes coming within the pale of the canon law. The relations of the sexes which, up to this period, toward the close of the third century, had been under the ostensible control of the civil authority, fell by degrees under the rule and domination of the church. Marriage was pronounced by her authoritative councils a “sacrament” of divine and not of human appointment. She gave to it a new character—the sacramental; prescribed the terms on which parties could embrace it; the causes which would invalidate, annul, or dissolve it; and the ceremony by which it could be solemnized. “It becomes both men and women,” says Ignatius of the first century, “when they marry, to make the union μετὰ γυναικὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, with the will and direction of the bishop, that the marriage may be according to the Lord, and not merely according to the instigation of their own lust.” \*

The later fathers taught the same high-toned doctrine concerning the marriage relation. Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others, in the third and fourth centuries, maintained that the tie of marital unity should be sealed by the prayer and benediction of a priest, “that the husband’s love might increase and the wife’s chastity might be improved; that the works of virtue might enter into the house by all that was then done, and the wiles and works of the devil be cast out.” † Thus matrimonial matters continued for several centuries under Christian teaching and practice, until, finally, what was formerly only advised as commendable, and enforced by precept and example, became, with the growth of power and prestige of the church, a mandatory custom. As early as A. D. 520, we find Pope Hormisdas issuing a decree “that no one should make a clandestine

\* Quoted by Gothofred, *Tertullian, Monogamia*, ch. xi. Cited by Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, vol. vii., p. 331.

† *Chrysostom Hom.*, ch. xiv., p. 3, in *Genes.*, tome ii., p. 681. *Ib.*, p. 333.



marriage; but, receiving the benediction of the priest, should marry publicly in the Lord;”\* a clandestine marriage being a marriage privately contracted and consummated without the religious formality. The decree, however, seems not to have been put in force to any great extent, for its provisions were disregarded by a large class of people, heretics, Jews, etc., who continued to respect the civil compact of the ancients, or to marry according to the religious rites of their own order. Late in the eighth century, therefore, another attempt was made in the West, by Charles the Great, to reduce to uniformity the form of Christian marriage, and to suppress all other forms inconsistent or in conflict with it. About the year A. D. 780, according to Bingham's notes,† Charles issued a decree “that no marriage should be celebrated any other way but by blessing, with sacerdotal prayers and oblations, and whatever marriages were performed otherwise, should not be accounted true marriages, but adultery, concubinage, or fornication.” Nevertheless, Blackstone affirms that the introduction of the Roman civil and canon law into England occurred in 1135, during the reign of the usurper, Stephen, and that “at the same time was imported the doctrine of appeals to the court of Rome, as a branch of the canon law.”‡

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\* *Chrysostom Hom.*, ch. xiv., p. 3, in *Genes.*, tome ii., p. 681. Cited by Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, vol. vii., p. 333.

† *Ib.*, and authorities cited.

‡ *Commentaries*, Cooley, vol. iv., p. 421. From first to last, there has been a good deal of dispute concerning the date of the complete subjugation of the marital compact to the control of canonical law. On this account, have we been more anxious to be precise as to dates. The distinguished commentator on English jurisprudence, Blackstone, is evidently in error when he says that “Pope Innocent III. was the first who ordained the celebration of marriage in the church, before which it was totally a civil contract.”—(*Commentaries*, ch. xv.) In respect of the matter, Morgan observes:

“The doctrine, that it is essential to marriage that it be performed by a person in orders, is founded, not on the statute, but the common law, the unwritten, unrepealed law of the remotest antiquity, and applies equally to the present form of solemnization, which is undisputed; to

In the Eastern Church the progress of ecclesiastical usurpation was much slower, relative to the social relations, but it was not the less sure, nor was it destined to be turned back so soon. Not until about A. D. 900 was it that a similar decree was enforced by Leo Sapiens, in the Eastern Empire, to her own discredit, and the injustice and dismay of millions of her subjects. While in the West, a few centuries sufficed to destroy the force and effect and to repair the mischief of this

the celebration in the face of the church or the congregation, under the law of Henry VIII. and the ritual of Edward VI., and to the ancient *dos ad ostium ecclesie*. \* \* \* It is acknowledged that, by the laws of France, so early as the beginning of the ninth century (A. D. 820), the use of the sacerdotal benediction, and the contract of marriage in the church in the presence of the priest, was not only common, but that no other marriage was deemed legitimate; and that, under this customary form of nuptial benediction, the second of our English sovereigns, Ethelwolf, was married to the daughter of Charles the Bold. The practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors is further explained by the laws of King Edmund, in the following century (A. D. 940), requiring the presence of a priest at the espousals, who, by delivering the blessing of God, might promote the union of the parties in all sanctity and in all fulness of happiness. And the council of Winchester, in the next century (A. D. 1076), declares it to be no less than the prostitution of a daughter to give her in marriage without the benediction of the priest. Other councils of the same age require the celebration in the face of the church, and prohibit the celebration in private and unhallowed places. [*Ux. Ebr.* I., ii., ch. xxix. *Comber. Intr. Office of Matr.*] In a great council held in Ireland (A. D. 1171), it was ordered that the laity, who wished to have wives, should unite them to themselves by the ecclesiastical law; for many of them had as many wives as they liked, and were accustomed to take wives of their relatives, and even their sisters, if *germanas* is here to be so understood. [*Gent. Mag.*, vol. xciv., pt. ii., p. 247, from the *Decem Scriptorum*, col. 1071.]” Hector Davies Morgan, M. A., Trinity College, Oxford. *The Law of Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce*, vol. i., pp. 134-136. London, 1826.

These synodal authorities, be it observed, were, previous to the Fourth Lateran Council of Innocent III., held in 1213, at which time Blackstone intimates that the religious ceremony and jurisdiction of marriage was engrafted on the ecclesiastical customs of the Church of Rome. Chancellor Kent repeats the declaration of the great English jurist affirming that, “before Innocent III., marriage was totally a civil contract.”—*Commentaries*, vol. ii., foot-note, p. 55.

ecclesiastical outrage on civil and religious liberty, in the East the ecclesiastical edict still remains in full effect, and not until recently has the subject of repealing it been broached with any prospect of success—millions of people within her jurisdiction, but dissenting from the established religion of the empire, being under matrimonial ban, and declared by the laws of the land to be of bastard parentage.

It would be interesting to follow in some detail the progress of society in Europe under the complete domination of ecclesiastical law; to note the quality and degree of virtue which was developed under it, as well as the foul developments of shame and injustice which grew like rank weeds under its rule for many centuries, until society seemed well-nigh asphyxiated with the rank accumulation. To do so, however, would extend the limit to which we have, for obvious reasons, restricted ourselves. It is all a matter of history, however; and we will proceed to events which led to reform and the final overthrow of a system of jurisprudence which, for evil consequences, surpassed any thing which Europe has seen or ever will see.

The corruptions engendered in every department of human affairs, under the dominance of ecclesiastical law, led to its decline and final subversion. The leaven of civil and religious reform had been working for years, yea, centuries, but the culmination was reached in the West by the events of the Reformation in Germany, in 1520, and its complete success assured at the rupture of Henry VIII. with Rome a few years later.

The disreputable troubles of that miserable monarch with his unhappy wives were of signal benefit to the cause of civil reform. It was one of these timely "accidents" of history which have so frequently heralded the civil and religious progress of humanity. It was surely no part of the programme of Henry VIII., upon breaking with Rome, to break the power of her ecclesiasticism, and restore the precepts of the common law in respect of the marital compact. Yet it contributed to that effect. It was a bold defiance of a power which it was only necessary to make to reveal its impotence.

But neither Henry VIII. nor his crafty advisers seem entitled to any credit for the amazing consequences which followed. At the definitive adoption of that which subsequently became the Thirty-nine Articles, and which constituted, not only the creed of the new church, but also the laws of the old realm, the supremacy of ecclesiastical law was maintained. The canons of the Roman councils were accepted and their authority reaffirmed, except in so far as they conflicted with the exigencies of the new situation. The statute of 25 Henry VIII., ch. xix., expressly declared, that "all existing canons, not in conflict with the laws of the realm, or the royal prerogative, were continued in force." "Since the Reformation," says the learned Herzog, "the canon law has undergone numerous changes and limitations."\* New canons and ecclesiastical constitutions were subsequently adopted, and their authority recognized as supreme, over marriage, government, the church, mode of worship, discipline of the clergy, and other church officers, etc. And, when the authority of ecclesiastical councils, in civil matters, became impaired, the spirit of their provisions was still the ruling power, and continued for a long time to shape the course of civil and religious institutions. With parliament full of bishops, and an archbishop for prime minister, canonical decrees and ecclesiastical constitutions could well be dispensed with. Parliament did ecclesiastical work under the guise of statute law, and the similarity in effect of the two kinds of jurisprudence, in the subsequent century, attests the substantial identity of their inspiration, although proceeding upon very different methods.

In respect of marriage and the questions which devolve upon that institution, as dower, entail, etc., the Anglican Church lost no time in assuming entire control and direction. It became more despotic, if possible, in the name of Christ, than the parent church. Not only did the Church of Henry VIII. assume to define the nature of the marital compact, as the Latin Church had done centuries before, and almost in the

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\* Herzog's *Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia*—Art. Anglican Church.

same words, but it also imitated the Latin missal of that church in prescribing the forms, the observance of which was essential to a valid marriage. Whatever doctrinal discrepancies subsisted between the missals of the two churches, the church episcopal was chiefly ambitious that its religious and marital doctrines should be more thoroughly scriptural.\* While, in its view, there was no warrant in the sacred writings to invest marriage with a sacramental character, that compact was clearly of divine origin, as proved by the inspired record in Genesis ii., and confirmed by the divine sanction and blessing, which the presence of Christ conferred upon it at the marriage festival in Cana.

But the doctrinal differences between the two churches, on the subject, were more apparent than real. Both looked upon adultery as a crime allied to arson and murder; a crime against human nature and the conjugal consort? By no means. It was, rather, a crime against matrimony—against religion—against God. It was, therefore, no plea or justification for divorce. Nothing could put asunder that which God had joined together. The Anglican joined with the Roman Church in declaring a conjugal union irrevocable that had been formed in compliance with the prescribed terms of His church or churches. In this opinion they were consistent, surely; but subsequent events have greatly modified it in respect of the Anglican Church, at least. Rome alone maintains her consistency. Moreover, the Latin Church regarded marriage as a “sacrament;” the Episcopal, an “excellent mystery.” The following brief extracts from the marriage service of the respective churches will place the matter of difference in a clearer light:

## ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

“Matrimony is a holy state, originally instituted by Almighty God between our first parents (Gen. ii.), ratified and confirmed by the Son of God in the New Testament

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“Matrimony is an honorable estate (Heb. xiii., 6), instituted by God (Matt. xix., 4, 5, 6, etc.) in the time of man’s innocence (Gen. ii., 20, 24), signifying unto us the

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\* *Vide Hume’s History of England*, vol. iii., p. 350.

(Matt. xix., 4, 5, 6), honored by his first miracle (John ii.), and raised by him to the dignity of a sacrament, as a most holy sign and mysterious representation of the indissoluble union of Christ and his church."

mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his church (Eph. v., 32); which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee (John ii.), and is commended of Saint Paul to be honorable among all men (Heb. xiii., 4). God has consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his church (Eph. v., 31, 32)."\*

In King Edward VI.'s First Book, the original prayer-book of the Episcopal Church, London, 1549, "the Booke of the Common Prayer and administracion of the sacramentts and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of Englande," the final service, by which those were made one flesh, who previously had fulfilled the preliminary conditions of having their conjugal intentions read on "the severall Sondayes or holy dayes in the service tyme," the priest commenced as follows:

"Dearely beloved frendes, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregacion, to joyne together this man and this woman in holy matrimony, which is an honorable estate, instituted of God in Paradise, in the tyme of manne's innocencie, signifying unto us the mysticall union that is betwixt Christ and his Church, which holy estate Christ adourned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee, and is commended of Sainct Paule to be honorable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfie men's carnall lustes and appetites like brute beastes that have no understandyng, but reverently, discretly, advisedly, soberly, and in the feare of God: duely considering the causes

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\* The Roman Catholic Mass-Book, says Hume, had been revised under the direction of Henry VIII. soon after the Reformation; "and little alteration was as yet made in it. Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the Pope was erased."—*History of England*, vol. iii., p. 277.

for which matrimony was ordayned. One cause was the procreacion of children, to be brought up in the feare and nurture of the Lorde, and praise of God. Secondly, it was ordayned for a remedy against synne, and to avoyde fornicacion, that suche persones 'as be maried might live chastly in matrimony, and kepe themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.' Thirdly, for the mutual societie, helpe, and comforte, that the one ought to have of thother, both in prosperitie and adversitie, into the whiche holy estate these two persons present come nowe to be joyned. Therefore if any man can shewe any just cause why thei may not lawfully be joyned so together let him now speake, or els hereafter for ever hold his peace. \* \* \* \* \*

"I require and charge you (as you wyll aunswere at the dreadfull daie of judgment, when the secretes of all hartes shall be disclosed), that if either of you do knowe any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joyned together in matrimonie, that ye confesse it: for be ye well assured that so many as be coupled together otherwaies than God's worde doeth alowe, are not joyned by God, neither is their matrimonie lawfull." \*

These preambles to the marriage service are sufficiently declarative of the theological conception of the nature and offices of matrimony, and afford a good illustration of the estimate placed upon the institution by the average churchmen of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In England it was placed under the care and protection of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The attempt to apply rational principles to its elucidation—to treat it in any other light than as of divine appointment, in the most direct and literal sense, was resisted as a heresy of the vilest sort, and brought down upon the head of the luckless innovator who presumed to doubt it the punishment of a felon. The virtue of the marital compact lay in the nurture and blessing bestowed by the church, and the sacerdotal benediction. "The necessity of the sacerdotal benediction has been familiarized by immemorial practice to the habits of Englishmen, and been enforced in the most ancient provisions of the law, distinguishing the contract from the ratification, and allowing an efficacy to one which it withheld from the other."† It was impossible, therefore, for

\* *Morgan's Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. ii., p. 603. London, 1826.

† *Ib.*, p. 385.



the spiritual courts to look upon a marriage formed in disregard of its sacred provisions and authority with any degree of favor. Such wedlock was adulterous. The children of it were necessarily illegitimate. The thousands of dissenters, Jews, and others in England, who were unfortunate enough to have opinions of their own respecting the "excellent mystery," and the courage to put them in practice, found themselves speedily outlawed, and their innocent ones bastardized. The ring, the altar, and the priest, were the means which the church had declared necessary to a valid marriage; and long after the Reformation the defect of any one was fatal to the bond. The legalized service went so far into the details of forming the "mystical union" as to indicate the finger on which the wedding-ring must be put, namely, the fourth finger of the left hand, thus supporting the belief, which at an earlier day prevailed, that a vein ran from that finger directly to the heart! Parliament, instigated by the immoral practices of the clergy, imposed severe penalties upon any person in holy orders who should solemnize a marriage in contravention of the established rites. Even as late as George II., in 1754, that body took notice of the offence. By the Statute of 26 George II., ch. xxxiii., it was declared:

"1. To solemnize marriage in any other place besides a church or public chapel, wherein bans have been usually published, except by license from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and 2. To solemnize marriage in such church or chapel without the publication of bans or license obtained from proper authority; do both of them not only render the marriage void, but subjects the person solemnizing it to felony, punished by transportation for fourteen years; as by these former statutes he and his assistants were subject to a pecuniary forfeiture of one hundred pounds." \*

The same act declared that a person who willfully makes a false registry of marriage, or forges a marriage license, or who assists in perpetrating these frauds upon the marriage contract, shall be guilty of "felony without benefit of clergy." "The public celebration in the church, and the invalidity of the private contract out of the church, were maintained

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\* *Blackstone's Works* (Cooley's), vol. iv., p. 162.



from the Reformation to the passage of the Marriage Act, in 1754, which makes no exemption but in favor of Jews and Quakers, and was not designed to contract any privilege previously possessed by Non-conformists." \* That the marriage ceremony prescribed by the canons was the only valid and legal one, in the eye of the English law, is clear enough from the frequent contests which occurred between the Dissenters and the ecclesiastic courts. Moreover, under William and Anne, the necessity of the priestly intervention was expressly affirmed, and the custom, which before appears to have had no other authority in the new ecclesiastical establishment than common usage, was officially recognized as the law of the land.

Subsequently, the law was put to the test. Burn, in his *Ecclesiastical Law*, reports three cases, the second of which, that of Haydon and Gould, fully confirms the position assumed. "Haydon and his wife were Sabbatarians, and had been married in a Sabbatarian congregation, by one of their ministers, using the ritual of the Church [of England] with the omission only of the ceremony of the ring. On the woman's death, Haydon, as her husband, took out letters of administration, to which her sister objected that they were never married. And, as it appeared that the minister who married them was a mere layman [not having been duly ordained according to the forms of the Established Church], and not in orders, the letters of administration granted to Haydon as the husband were revoked, and a new administration granted to the sister." † The question was appealed, but the decision was promptly confirmed.

The case of Middleton *vs.* Croft, also cited by Burn, affords a good illustration of the power and jurisdiction of canonical law. The plaintiffs had been, it appears, prosecuted by the spiritual court for marrying "without the canonical hours." They contested the jurisdiction of the court, plead-

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\* Morgan's *Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. ii., p. 385.

† *Ib.*, vol. i., pp. 153, 154.

ing the statute of William III., which only imposed a fine of ten pounds for the offence, but did not annul the marriage. The court, however, did not admit the plea, but decided that "both the jurisdictions do stand well together."\* Both of these cases, it should be observed, occurred near the close of the seventeenth century, after the passage of the celebrated "Toleration Act," and a century and a half after the definitive adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the firm establishment of the "Established Church."

Nothing is more invulnerable against reformatory changes than an ecclesiasticism. The seasons come and go in ever-varying succession; the surface and form of the earth undergo ceaseless and orderly changes; all Nature gives evidence of being engaged in a grand system of progressive improvement; ecclesiastical systems alone resist such changes, and wait, like the rocks, for time to slowly disintegrate and break their force. More than a century ago, England's great jurist and commentator, Blackstone, declared marriage to be a civil contract. So it was, is now, and ever has been regarded, by the common law. But, at that time, and down to a period within a generation, the canonical law in England continued to exercise full control over the domestic compact, and to declare imperfect a marriage not solemnized by a person in orders, in accordance to the Revised Service of the *Book of Common Prayer*!

Since the Restoration, parliament has often been called upon to exercise clemency toward numerous classes of Dissenters and Non-conformists, and has frequently removed the canonical disabilities which marriage, in contempt of the prescribed service, had brought upon them and their descendants. It passed an act, after the Restoration, legalizing the civil marriages which occurred under an ordinance of Cromwell, making it a penal offence to use any other form of marriage ceremony than that prescribed by a justice of the peace.†

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\* Morgan's *Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. i., p. 155.

† "Under the ordinance of the Usurpation the liturgy was prescribed,

Again it interfered in behalf of the marital rights of the Irish in Ireland. And in 7 and 8 William III., that great muddle, the Toleration Act, the faults of which Macaulay regards its greatest virtues, was passed. No change was effected in the legal status of irregular marriages by that act. It seems to have been nothing more than the expression of a humane desire for religious toleration among the opposing sects. The civil marriage was still null and void. Not until the passage of the Marriage Act, in 1754, was relief afforded to any class of Dissenters from the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts; and this act exempted from the authority of the official marriage service only Quakers and Jews. The social status of the great body of Dissenters the act did not affect in the least. These were left to their fate, and their pleading petitions for relief against the intolerance of a hated sacerdotalism were in vain, and yet not wholly in vain, for no virtuous act is of non-effect in the social economy of Nature.

We have already referred to the statute 26 George II., regulating the contract and solemnization of marriage. Kent says: "The painful consequences of such a doctrine recommended a less severe discipline in respect to the parties themselves and their issue. The statute of 3 George IV. relaxed the rigor of the former statute in some particulars; but that statute was repealed by the 4 George IV., ch. lxxvi., which restored much of the former severity, and now forms, with some subsequent variations, the matrimonial law of England."\* "But the subsequent statutes," continues the great commentator, "of 6 and 7 William IV., ch. lxxxv.; and ch. lxxxviii., 7 William IV.; and 1 Vict., ch. xxii.; and 3 and 4 Vict., ch. xcii., have so far modified these provisions as to allow marriages, not only by special license, by the surro-

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the religious celebration of marriage was made a penal offence, and a legal character was given to marriages contracted before a justice of the peace, who was to declare the parties husband and wife; and it was ordained that such marriage should be good and effectual in law."—*Law of Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce*, vol. i., p. 144.

\* Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 58.

gate's license, and by bans, but also by the superintendent registrar's certificate, without license, or by his certificate with license." \* At the present time the doctrine of the common law prevails in England, as in most civilized countries, and marriage is regarded in the light of a purely civil contract, and may be effected by such forms, or without forms, as the parties to the bond prefer. "The consent of the parties may be declared before a magistrate, or simply before witnesses, or subsequently confessed or acknowledged, or the marriage may even be inferred from continual cohabitation, and reputation as husband and wife, except in cases of civil action for adultery, or in public prosecution for bigamy or adultery, when actual proof of the marriage is required." † In many of the States of the United States, any party assuming the relation of husband and wife, in the absence of legal prohibitions, constitutes a valid marriage for all purposes whatsoever, when such fact is susceptible of proof. In the State of New York, the fact has been definitively settled by the ruling of the municipal courts in numerous cases, and every vestige of the canon law on the subject may be truly said to have wholly disappeared.

The position of women and wives under the old ecclesiasticism, as well as under the new, was one of absolute dependence—on the father or guardian, if single, on the husband and master, if married. Such was their legal status under the old common law, whose provisions in this particular were only reaffirmed by the ecclesiastical law in respect to woman, but which greatly extended their influence in respect to wives. Woman was not expected to make her own contracts—to dispose of herself in marriage—nor own nor inherit *real* property; but in most other respects she was as free as the accident of sex would allow. It was far different, however, with the wife. Under the dominance of the canon law, she became, as in the old Roman law, a vassal—reduced to complete sub-

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\* Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 58.

† *Ib.*, p. 55.

jection to her *baron*, or lord. Her position was one of *coverture*, from which there was no release, except by the death of her lord or by act of parliament. If Nature had, unhappily, given her an individuality of her own, which in general she kindly withholds from the sex, it was merged into that of her husband. He became her head as completely as Christ is the head of the Church. He was expected to answer for her conduct during *coverture*. The wife was held personally responsible for three crimes, only: if she committed treason, murder, or adultery, she was to expiate the offence; if theft, arson, robbery, battery, etc., the husband suffered for her. To give an appearance of equity to this legal provision, the husband was expected to exercise personal restraint over the wife; lock her up, if refractory, or chastise her at his discretion. The personal authority of the husband over the wife in England, a century since, was in all respects similar, and as complete as that which he possessed over his children and apprentices, or as that of the master over his slave. The progress of conjugal sentiment among the upper classes has long since rendered the custom obsolete; but, among the lower ranks of society, the right is "still claimed and enforced in that country—" \* England.

Moreover, the common law recognizes the right of the husband to all the property which the wife possesses, or of which she becomes possessed, "by her labor, service, or act, during *coverture*." † Nor can she again acquire the right to it, except

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\* Reeve's *Domestic Relations*, p. 141.

† "The husband, also, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children, for whom the master or parent is also liable, in some cases, to answer. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, *aliter quam ad viceun, ex causa regiminis et castigationis uxoris suae, licite et rationabiliter pertinet*." But it is easier to prescribe a privilege of this kind than it is to enforce it. Discretion has a wide latitude, and must be left to the husband, who would be

by deed or settlement, and, in default of this, the property, at the husband's death, is vested "in his executors."\* The great commonwealth of New York, to her honor be it said, has superseded the common law, and the superposed authority of the ecclesiastical in this particular, and established the perfect equality of the wife, without annulling the previous interests possessed by her in the husband's estate. A few other States in the American Union have likewise recognized the propriety of this act of justice toward women and wives.†

Again, the husband is entitled, in all "civilized" countries, to damages for any injury to his wife's person, by which he is deprived of her services and society, precisely as if he had been wronged in any other species of property.‡ "If any man should carry away the wife of another man, it is a trespass for which a recovery of money damages may be had by the wronged husband," the same as if his ox or his ass had been stolen § or surreptitiously taken away from him.

But let us return to the more direct bearings of the subject. The causes which led to the ultimate release of marriage from the thralldom of ecclesiastical law may now be readily apprehended. The evils which the supremacy of that system of jurisprudence engendered worked its final abandonment and downfall. Human nature is greater than any system, institution, or law; and, while the tendency of these is to re-

liable to lose that virtue, when angry, unless, indeed, he were truly a god.

Our author proceeds: "The civil law gave the husband the same or larger power over his wife, allowing him for some misdemeanors, *flagellis et fustibus acriter verberare uxorem*; for others, only *modicum castigationem adhibere*. But, with us, in the politer reign of Charles II., this power of correction began to be doubted, and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband, or, in return, the husband against the wife. Yet the lower rank of people, who were always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient right, and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehavior."—Cooley's *Blackstone*, vol. i., p. 444.

\* Reeve's *Domestic Relations*, p. 139.

† *Ib.*, p. 49.

‡ *Ib.*, pp. 138; 139.

§ *Ib.*, p. 139.

main fixed, changeless, the struggling ego in man impels him to initiate new forms, and to rise into new conditions, when the law of the old becomes useless and out of place.

England was always a hot-bed of heresy. In the seventeenth century, strange doctrines multiplied and spread there like contagion—new ideas seem to be indigenous to her climate. It is impossible to repress, by any means short of wholesale execution, the native tendency of the Anglo-Saxon mind to *dissent*. Soon after the Reformation, England had not only the Catholics, Quakers, Witches, and Jews, each with a religion peculiar to itself, to contend with, but later arose strong bodies of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, etc.; and later, still, came a troublesome army of Unitarians. Each of these sects stoutly defended its peculiar faith, and all mutually abhorred an ecclesiasticism which compelled them to contract marriage, if at all, by a liturgy, which they, not wholly without reason, stigmatized as “indecent,” “popish,” and doctrinally untrue in many respects, and celebrated by the intervention of a minister, whom they could not but regard as a slight remove from a curate in papal orders.

Many of these dissenting sects did not object to the doctrine of the prescribed missal, so much as to the interposition of forms and ceremonies foreign to their own faith and preference. Some of them may have even regarded marriage, as the service stated, “a remedie for sinne.” The most of them could take wives and husbands “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;” but they preferred the intervention of a minister of their own respective order. Few among them were averse to the religious solemnization of the marital covenant, if their own religion and teachers were allowed to be the instrument of its administration. There was one religious body, however, among these dissenting sects, strong in numbers, and stronger in the knowledge of the principles of civil and religious freedom, and still stronger in courage to defend them, who did dissent from the creed embodied in the form of the marriage service of the Established Church. This body was the Unitarians.



The doctrines of the marriage service were not only abhorrent to the judgment of the Unitarian mind, but it was positively repugnant to his sense of propriety ; it grated harshly on his finer sentiments ; it insulted the object of his most exalted affection by the intimation of an ignoble use which she fulfilled in the divine compact. Marriage, and other acts "in the name of the Father," might be well enough, but to perform any act in the name and authority of a trinity of Gods, he could not submit to, except under the most solemn protest. To him the Trinity was a dogma—a theological monstrosity conceived in an age of credulity and born in an age of faith. If his conception of the nature, duty, and offices of the married state was not more Scriptural than his orthodox brethren, it certainly was not less elevated and refined ; nor was it any more objectionable to unprejudiced minds for being more in accord with the rationalistic ideas and spirit of the time.

We have before us a copy of a protest presented to an officiating clergyman at the altar of the parish church, London, June 10, 1814, by a couple of Unitarians about to be married. After the preamble of the protest, the document proceeds to give the reasons why they protested against the marriage ceremony of the Established Church :

"Because it makes marriage a religious instead of a civil act ; because parts of the ceremony are highly indelicate, and must, to every correctly constituted mind, be extremely offensive ; because the man is required to worship the woman, though the founder of Christianity has declared that God is the only object for the Christian to worship ; because it requires the recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity, than which nothing can be more oppressive to those who disbelieve, conscientiously, and after patient investigation, that doctrine, conceiving that the whole of revelation fully sanctions their joining the Apostle Paul in declaring that, 'To us there is but one God and one Mediator between God and men, them an Christ Jesus ;' because, as Christians and Protestant dissenters, it is impossible we can allow of the interference of any human institution with matters which concern our faith and conscience ; because, as knowing nothing of a priesthood in Christianity, the submission to a ceremony performed by a person in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, is painful and humiliating to our feelings ; because as servants of Jesus we worship the one living and true God, his God and our God, his Father and our Father, and disbelieve and



abominate the doctrine of the Trinity, in whose name the marriage ceremony is performed.

"Signed, WILLIAM COATES, MARY ANN THOMPSON,  
"Members of the Church of God, known by the name of Freethinking  
Christians."\*

*June 10, 1814.*

The protest is an illustration of the spirit which animated the more respectable portion of the Dissenters—protests and petitions increased, indeed, in number and respectability with the advance of the centuries. They were ridiculed by some, and listened respectfully to by others. Many thought their grievances should be redressed; by far a larger number could not entertain plans of redress which compromised the honor and stability of the Athanasian creed. To give these dissenting "rabblies" the "right of marrying at their own meetings, and agreeably to their own forms," would be confessing to errors in the past, and seriously impair the confidence of communicants in the supremacy and stability of the Church of England. This would be the conclusion of every one whose mind was at all sensitive to logic, and it was a conclusion which deeply concerned the logic—we cannot say conscience—of all good churchmen, and dissuaded them from making concessions until a more convenient season.

The Anglican Church found herself now in a position similar to that which the Roman Catholic Church occupied at the Reformation. Her experience had been, from the first, that which all "establishments," religious or political, are compelled to endure while they can, and yield to when they must. In all these unhappy episodes in human history, we are reminded of the words of Milton: "Error supports custom, and custom countenances error; and these two, between them, would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life." †

The Established Church was no exception to the general

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\* Freethinking Christians' Qu. Reg., No. 111, p. 293. Morgan Law, etc., vol. ii., p. 557.

† Prose Works, vol. iii., p. 172, Bohn. London, 1848.

law by which all institutions rise and fall. When her foes were weak or few in number, she could suppress them without the trouble of argumentation. In her earlier days she had repressed with cruel zeal these protesting Dissenters; and, when her persecution became too severe to bear without positive ignominy, the victims emigrated to the continent, or sought new homes in the distant colonies. America received large numbers of these "Free-thinking Christians;" and to them she is largely indebted for her advanced principles of civil and religious freedom. Dr. Alexander states that, among the first acts of a colony of these persecuted Dissenters, that landed in New England early in the seventeenth century, was the establishment of civil marriage, or marriage by a civil magistrate." \*

When, therefore, the number of the Non-conformists assumed such proportions as to contribute a respectable minority of English subjects, and to comprise among their warm adherents some of the best minds in the kingdom, it were neither possible to suppress them by legal disabilities nor to remain passive to their urgent demands for simple justice. These oppressed subjects looked to parliament for the redress of their grievances; nor did they look in vain. That body had been gradually undergoing progressive changes. It had been largely weeded of bishops and representative churchmen.†

\* *History of Women*, vol. ii., p. 317.

† The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed a majority in the house of lords, had, in wealth and splendor, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. The lord treasurer was often a bishop. The lord chancellor was almost always so. The lord keeper of the privy seal and the master of the rolls were, ordinarily, churchmen. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, almost all that large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct was considered as especially belonging to divines. \* \* \* Down to the middle of the reign of Henry VIII., therefore, no line of life bore so inviting an aspect to ambitious and covetous nature as the priesthood."—Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 254.

The liberal element outside, through its influence on the elections, was perceptibly liberalizing the element on the inside. The statutes, consequently, gradually fell away from the support of the ecclesiastical pretensions of the church, and ultimately, as we have seen, passed enactments relieving the least of her subjects of marital prohibitions or restrictions other than those which were imposed by the time-honored principles and precepts of the common law.

Another cause which led to the decline of the power and prestige of ecclesiastical law in England, was the degradation of the clergy of the Established Church. The strength of an ecclesiasticism rests chiefly upon two factors: *First*, the people whom it legislates for and controls must be either grossly ignorant or corrupt; and, *second*, its representatives must be of blameless life, incorruptible, and above the shadow of an unhallowed suspicion. The *first* requirement was amply fulfilled at the Reformation; the *second* had not been seriously questioned during the reign of Henry VIII.; but, a generation later, its existence was, to say the least, less pronounced. Indeed, at the close of that century, its decadence was a matter of common notoriety. The ignorance, poverty, rapacity, and immoral practices of persons in holy orders, became the commonist scandal of the time. The clergy were so intent on fighting schisms that they neglected the more obvious purpose of their calling. "The ribaldry of Etherege and Wycherley," says Macaulay, "was, in the presence and under the special sanction of the head of the church, publicly recited by female lips in female ears, while the author of Pilgrim's Progress languished in a dungeon for the crime of proclaiming the Gospel to the poor."\* There was no dearth of religion of the theologic sort. In fact, when society in England was the most corrupt and licentious, there was more religion to the square acre within her borders than in any other spot or country in Christendom. "It is an unquestionable and a most instructive fact," says Macaulay, in his felicitous way,

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\* *History of England*, chap. iii., p. 141.

"that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point."\* Every act of parliament or decree of the Head of the Church was prefaced "by the grace of God," etc. Every measure, of whatever nature, whether it was for the punishment of the Puritans or the persecution of the despised Quakers and Jews; or of women and children, the fathers and husbands of whom had been engaged in insurrection; † or of recalcitrant Catholics and Presbyterians; or of the burning of witches and heretics; or of performing a wretched marriage service; all were done "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost!"

At this time the clergy had fallen from their high estate in the public estimation, and were "regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class." Macaulay says that, "for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were menial servants." ‡ Many of them were reduced to beggary; and some of those who had benefices found them inadequate to a comfortable support, and were compelled to live in the houses of laymen, or seek some remunerative labor to make their ends meet, and keep the wolf from their door. Gentlemen of rank frequently kept them in their establishments to attend to the family worship, and to say grace at the table. Macaulay has given in brief a good sketch of the social position of the parish priest in the first half of the seventeenth century, in the third chapter of his *History of England*. "A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year; and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy

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\* *History of England*, ch. iii., p. 141.

† See account of the "Bloody Assizes" during the reign of James II. in fifth chapter Macaulay's *History of England*.

‡ *Ib.*, ch. iii., p. 154.

weather for shovel-boards, but might also save the expense of a gardener or of a groom. Sometimes," continues the historian, "the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach-horses. He cast up the farriers' bills. He walked ten miles with a message, or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but, as soon as the tarts and cheese-cakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded."

The moral position of these poor parsons was correspondingly low. Their living was insufficient to maintain a wife and children in the style of the better-class tradesman or artisan; and, naturally enough, no lady of good living, and accustomed to good society, and who was at all ambitious to sustain the appearance of respectability, was likely to consent to share the humble lot of a country priest. "During several generations, accordingly," says Macaulay, "the relation between priests and handmaidens was a theme for endless jests; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook."\* Their associates were chiefly servant-girls and groomsmen, in back-kitchens and out-houses; and the most suitable companion for them was generally considered a waiting-maid "whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward." So early as Queen Elizabeth's time, scarcely half a century after the Reformation, the social position of servants and priests had become so closely identified that special orders were issued by that dignitary, as head of the church, "that no clergyman should presume to marry a servant-girl without the consent of her master or mistress."† His children were numerous, and his household proportionately beggarly. His boys, usually hard customers, went early to

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\* Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. iii.

† *Ib.* *Injunctions of 1559.* Bishop's *Sparrow's Collection.*

work at farm-labor or trades; his girls, to service. Such was the unenviable estate of a large majority of the English priesthood for more than two centuries and a half succeeding the Reformation—nearly the close of the eighteenth century. Nor is this the worst side of the picture.\*

There was not wanting a legitimate cause for this painful degradation of the agents of a holy calling. Close observers of human society have often had reason to remark the connection which subsists between want and misery, destitution and crime. And Buckle has, perhaps, done more than any man of modern times to trace that connection. The clergy of the seventeenth century were, unhappily, no exception to this law of our social nature. Reduced to penury, from causes which they did not foresee, and were by no means responsible for, but which appear obvious enough at this distance, they fell an easy victim of opportunities which gave them a possible chance to fill their coffers. The emoluments of matrimony afforded them the readiest resource. And some of the reverend but needy gentry plied the art of match-making for the sake of the paltry marriage fee. The Fleet Street prison (London) and ale-houses were common resorts, at one time, of clergymen of the more needy sort, seeking business, of which, by the laws of England, they had a monopoly. Burn, in his history of the Parish Registry, has given some curious extracts from the *Grub Street Journal*, January, 1734-'35, which go to show the great disorders openly practised in the principal London streets by men whose object it was to effect compulsory marriages. In the same connection that author gives a curious account of "a clergyman, Dr. Gayman, who performed marriages at the Fleet from about 1709 to 1740." He also furnishes "some extraordinary extracts from the books kept by the Fleet clergyman," by which it appears

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\* See Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, vol. iii., for further evidence concerning the degradation of the clergy. Brodie's *History of the British Empire*, vol. i., p. 76, *et seq.*, has much to say about the poverty of the parsons, particularly of the country parsons, and their irregular mode of living, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

“that, when these exemplary gentlemen had an entry to make more than usually scandalous, they used to write it in ‘Greek characters,’ of which a comical instance is given at page 52” —at least, so says Buckle.\*

It did not matter how degraded were the candidates for conjugal blessedness; if they produced the fee, the priest was ready to join them in “holy” matrimony. In many cases the bridegroom or the bride was sought after as an article of traffic, as Burn has shown, as one or the other of the twain was needed to complete the coveted pair. Nor was this all. Fellows in frocks frequently kept houses, to which gardens were attached, as a matrimonial resort, where the host in orders would not only get his official fee, but also the profit of the wedding repast and a night’s lodging. Into these haunts of convenience, to use a mild phrase, parties were frequently inveigled for the purpose of making a match and extorting a service fee. It seems incredible, but there is good authority for the statement, that women were sometimes kidnapped by hired emissaries, and taken to these establishments, and forced to marry parties whom they had never met before. The scandal of these proceedings became so great in 1750, that parliament was compelled to interfere and loosen the restrictions upon the marriage rites, in order to correct these flagrant abuses. Thus originated the celebrated “Marriage Act” of 1754, of 26 George II., to which reference has been frequently made, and which, by its effect upon the matrimonial alliances of the Dissenters, who were wholly innocent of the irregularities complained of, did more than any single event in the eighteenth century to improve public sentiment and to remove the marital contract from the monopoly of persons in orders, and to establish it on a more purely civil basis.†

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\* *Vide Posthumous Works*, vol. ii., art. 803.

† “The sons and daughters,” says Smollet, “of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections and inveigled into matches, big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united



These immoralities on the part of the priesthood could not but seriously weaken the influence of that order, and to break down the distinction which had been sedulously maintained by it by every device which the cunning of man could conceive between it and the rest of mankind. Sensible laymen were not slow to apprehend the conclusion to which the logic of these events so clearly pointed, and began to question the soundness of an ecclesiasticism whose influence upon virtue and morality was manifestly inferior to the philosophy of the derided and contemned Dissenter. In the long-run, practice is stronger than precept, virtue than doctrine, demonstration than dogma; and that system of religion, medicine, or jurisdiction, which is most fruitful of desirable results—of virtue and morality—is morally certain, sooner or later, to triumph over all competitors. This is the decree of common sense; and, in practice, common sense is but another phrase for common law, whose precepts are of universal application, and whose destiny is the triumph of universal justice.

The history of this struggle between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers in England, while it is more familiar to English-reading people, is by no means exceptional. United Germany is the scene of a hot contest between these powers to-day; but, in respect of the marriage relation, the civil power there long since triumphed. So, likewise, did it in

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instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of all the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and, indeed, the very outcast of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet prison to intercept customers; plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without license or question, in cellars, garrets, or ale-houses, to the scandal of religion and the disgrace of that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches opened to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could embitter the married state."—*Smollet's History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 442, 443.



France, though now nominally a Catholic republic. Austria has only recently restored the subverted precepts of the common law in respect of matrimony, and Spain, still more recently, despite the protest of Pius IX., the eagle-eyed watchman upon the throne of St. Peter. The history of this struggle is, therefore, peculiar to no nation or peoples, if we except the States of the United States, whose wise founders took early and effective precaution to give ascendancy to the principles of civil and religious liberty. It has repeated, or is repeating, itself with singular unanimity in them all, and apparently with similar results. It requires no prophet's eye, therefore, to see that, sooner or later, the precepts of the common law must ultimately everywhere prevail.

Finally, in concluding this article, we cannot forbear to observe that which must, indeed, be apparent to every attentive reader, namely, that one's apprehension of the nature and uses of the marital relation is subject to developmental changes. In that respect, however, it is no exception in respect of other institutions. All institutions which grow out of the nature of man must change as he changes—must keep even pace with his unfolding nature, or they become a hinderance and not a help to him. Principles alone are steadfast, unchangeable.

The secularization of marriage is a long stride toward a just appreciation of its nature and requirements, and the development of its benefactions. The sacramental mystery which has so long hedged it in, and concealed the nature of its true offices in the economy of human life, is in process of being dispelled. Its fictions are dissolving in the light of the rational spirit. The lesson which we learn from its study is that it is not an institution *devised for* man; but, rather, that it is an institution which he devises for himself, and that its perfections or imperfections are based entirely on the degree of wisdom which he brings into requisition in forming the compact matrimonial.

Nothing is more apparent, nor susceptible of a clearer demonstration, than that true marriage rests upon conditions

formed by the relations which subsist between the parties to it, which they alone can command or create. These conditions, it is needless to say, comprehend mutual, moral, and intellectual fitness, which includes congeniality of sentiment and harmony of tastes, æsthetic, social, and religious. Similarity of temperaments is of less moment. It must be clear, then, that a conjugal union formed upon any other basis—in disregard of these fundamental conditions, neither civil nor ecclesiastical, while it may be respectable, indeed, and not, therefore, to be traduced or lightly regarded—necessarily fails of its highest and noblest uses to the parties to it, and to the State, and not unfrequently tends to engender disappointment, if not absolute wretchedness, to both, whether the relation be entered into under civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

However that may be, the evident indications of an improved and more elevated sentiment respecting marriage, and the social relations, are matters of profound interest and sincere gratulation. They augur well for the future of the human race upon the earth; and in these indications there is much to stimulate the flagging faith of desponding moralists. Unless they are deceptive, man is destined to emancipate himself from the slavery which fidelity to the letter of the law imposes upon him, and to walk forth in the freedom—not license—guaranteed him by its spirit and purpose—the restraining of vice, and the promotion of virtue. The institution of marriage has suffered in the past, and is suffering still, from the withering touch of a superstition. In that respect, however, its experience has been that not uncommon to the history of all institutions, civil or religious. In the development of man, the superstitious cycle is a natural, perhaps wise, surely an inevitable, phenomenon in his early career. The student of history need not necessarily interest himself in the idle speculations respecting the necessity thereof. That field of inquiry may be harmlessly left in the hands of the theologian and metaphysician, who delight so much to work it. His business is with phenomena, and induction based thereon. Fidelity to this method may enable him to

foresee events and to demonstrate their logical necessity ; but he, singly, cannot prevent nor circumvent them, though he be, at the same time, himself both a voluntary and an involuntary agent in the phenomena. The greatest genius that ever awakened the enthusiasm or commanded the admiration of mortals, though he may have been a Shakespeare or a Confucius, a Plato or a Bacon, fulfilled no higher sphere, or dignified no truer or nobler method of life and duty.

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ART. II.—1. *History of the United States.* BANCROFT, SPARKS, INGERSOLL.

2. *History of England.* MACAULAY, MARTINEAU.

3. *History of France.* MICHELET, MARTIN.

4. *History of Germany.* CARLISLE, MÜLLER.

As our Centennial approaches, and the public mind is called to our national affairs, it may not be unprofitable to glance over our history and gather what lessons we may from our experience of a hundred years. It will be remembered that, as our fathers set out with their somewhat doubtful experiment of a republic, it was generally predicted that they would fail, and that in a few years they would return, if not to the subjection of England, at least to the refuge of a monarchy. It was then highly problematical whether a republic was, under any circumstances, possible, and especially under the difficulties with which we had to contend—a great war on our hands disputing the existence of the nation itself, a great number of disconnected States with little community of interest, a wild region with almost no arts or industries, and a perpetual enemy of savages in our midst and on our borders.

It was doubtful whether, under such circumstances, a people could govern themselves, if, indeed, they could do

so at all. It was apprehended, in particular, that, as Republicans, we should be theoretical and visionary; that, with wild and impracticable ideals, we would not attempt the merely possible in government, or be content with any thing we might realize; and that, in consequence of this, we should be revolutionary and unstable, always changing for something unattainable. It was thought, too, that in the variety of our individual opinions, in which every man would think himself supreme, we should be irreconcilable as a whole, and unmanageable as a body politic; that, in our inexperience in government, and our impatience of moderation, the minority would not submit to the majority, or one department work harmoniously with another. In consequence of all this, it was thought that we should be beset with internal dissensions and insubordination, and be the prey of civil wars and anarchy, so that we would ultimately welcome a monarchy, or even a despotism, as a happy deliverance. In the absence of that peace which was thought to be the boon of an empire or strong personal government, it was believed, too, that there would be no adequate encouragement to industry; that, in the insecurity of person and property which would follow our failures, we would not try to become rich. Depending on spoils and political preferments instead of labor (as Republicans and Socialists were then thought to do), it was contended that we would, instead of developing our resources, idly try to get what is our neighbor's by political reform. In short, it was predicted that, instead of a great, prosperous career, we should not be able to maintain the status with which we set out.

Such was the prospect with which, in the eyes of the world, our fathers commenced their career a hundred years ago—a prospect which was shared also by many of our friends whose forebodings shadowed a dark future for us. For it must be remembered that, with the exception of a few visionary Frenchmen, who were on the eve of their great revolution, there were few anywhere who were not convinced of the impossibility of a republic, and that our own wisest statesmen thought our experiment of questionable expediency.

Now, in answer to all these forbidding prophecies and forebodings, as well as to the similarly unfavorable objections and criticisms of the present day, we adduce the facts of our history for the past hundred years. The record which we as a republic have made in this time is conclusive on this point, and full of significance to the statesman and historian.

And first, with regard to the apprehension that we should be beset with wars, and so be rendered incapable of realizing the advantages of peace, we observe that, during all this time—that is, in the first century of our existence—we have had but two foreign wars, one with England in 1812, and one with Mexico in 1845; this being the greatest example of protracted peace and comparative immunity from bloodshed known in all history. Not to compare it with the almost perpetual and interminable war-history of the ancient civilizations, or of the governments of the Middle Ages, which were founded and carried on in blood, or even with the ceaseless wars of modern Europe prior to our independence, in which, since the Reformation, all the states, from Sweden to Turkey, have been involved (sometimes for a period of thirty, and sometimes for a period of seven years), when peace was only an armistice, and new wars could not commence because old ones never ceased; not, we say, to compare our history with those times, when, certainly, it cannot be said that monarchies were a prevention of war, or that empires meant peace; but to confine ourselves to the last hundred years, and to the parallel courses of other nations with ours, we find that we, unexperienced as we were in government and diplomacy, and having, as we had, new principles to establish and illustrate, have given the noblest peace-example of them all. For, in this same period, while we have had but two wars, England has had eight foreign wars, besides her Indian, Persian, and China wars, France has had nine wars, Prussia six, Russia thirteen, Austria five, Spain four, and Italy five.

Comparing more at length our history with that of England in this respect, we find that, while we have been enjoying a hundred years of peace, broken only in 1812 and in 1845

with wars, which together aggregate but six years, England at the same time has had twenty-eight years of war. From 1778 to 1783 she had a war with France. From 1780 to 1783 a war with Spain. During the same time she had a war also with Holland. In 1793 she commenced the war of the Revolution, which lasted till 1802, or nine years, and in 1801 the war against the Confederation of the North, all of which wars were had before our peace was once broken. Then, in 1803, she began the war against Bonaparte, which lasted twelve years. From 1812 to 1815 she carried on a war with the United States, and from 1854 to 1856 she carried on the Crimean War with Russia. During the same period she has also had nine wars with India, two with China, and one with Persia. In short, while our first century has been a century of peace, England's, with which more than any other we are unfavorably compared, has been a century of war.

Comparing, again, our history with that of France, we find that, in the period in which we have had but two short wars, France has been almost perpetually at war, aggregating forty years out of the hundred. For, in this time, she engaged in 1778 in a war with England, rendering aid to the American colonies in their efforts for independence; in 1792 she entered the field against the allied powers of Europe, continuing the struggle for twenty-three years, till 1815. In 1793 she declared war against England; in 1812 she declared war also against Russia, and in 1813 against Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In 1854 she commenced, with England, the Crimean War against Russia; in 1857 she, with Sardinia, aided Victor Emanuel against Austria. In 1862 she fought with Mexico, to enthrone Maximilian, and in 1870 commenced her fatal war with Prussia. In short, while we have pursued a policy of peace, France has pursued one of glory and conquest, the result of which, compared with our prosperity, has been humiliation and defeat.

Comparing, in the next place, our history with that of Prussia, we find that the strongest of monarchies, while professing a traditional peace policy, has had three times the

number of wars that we have. In 1792 she commenced a war with France, which she carried on through the whole revolutionary period. In 1803 she renewed it, as a member of the Holy Alliance, and continued therein till the fall of Napoleon in 1815. In 1848 she assisted the duchies against Denmark, fighting till 1850. In 1866 she again fought against Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein War. In 1866 she commenced the war against Austria and the South-German states, and finally, in 1870, she entered into the Franco-Prussian War. On the whole, monarchical Prussia, as compared with republican America, has had a career of war, and established her monarchy in blood rather than in sweat.

Comparing, again, our history with that of Russia, we have a similar result. Instead of an almost uniform reign of peace, as in the United States, Russia has in this time had war as the rule, with only short intervals of peace. In 1795 she had war with Poland, entered into to complete the subjugation of that country. In 1784 she completed her war with Turkey, and her invasions of the Crimea, which were begun as far back as 1769. In 1796 she fought with Persia. In 1799 she took part against the French revolutionists. In 1805, and again in 1812, she took part against Napoleon. In 1809 she fought with the Turks; in 1826 with Persia again, as also in 1840. In 1849 she fought against Hungary; in 1853 against Turkey; and in 1854 against France and England in the Crimean War. In short, Russia's history, as compared with ours, shows that we are far less inclined to war than she, and that republicanism is more peaceful than absolute monarchy.

Comparing, in the next place, our history with that of Austria, we have a similar showing. Though more inclined to peace than most European countries, and although suffering frequent dishonor and loss of territory for the sake of peace, Austria has yet had a goodly number of wars. In 1805 she fought against France in the Holy Alliance, and, until the fall of Napoleon, was fighting in one form or another for her Italian possessions. In 1848 she had the memorable



war with Hungary and its allies. In 1849 she fought with Sardinia and France over her Italian interests. In 1864 she engaged with Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein War against Denmark, and in 1866 she fought against Prussia and Italy in the disastrous war which decided her fate at Sadowa, and compelled her to withdraw from participation in German affairs.

Our history, when compared with that of Spain, shows a like result. For, in this time of comparative peace with us, Spain has had a comparative season of war. In 1796 she had a war with England; in 1807 she had war with France, as also in 1823; and in 1859 one with Morocco. In short, that most monarchical of countries, with unlimited loyalty to king and pope, knowing nothing but submission and obedience, has, besides her endless rebellions, had twice as many foreign wars as our independent and individualized Americans who have acknowledged no authority but themselves.

And, comparing finally our history with that of Italy, we have still the invariable result, peace in America and war abroad. For, in this time, Italy has engaged in the following wars: First, those growing out of the French Revolution, and the intervention of Napoleon in Italian affairs, which lasted till 1814; secondly, that of the Milanese and Venetians against Austria, in 1848, for their independence and supremacy; thirdly, the wars of independence between Piedmont and Austria, into which the rest of the Italians were largely drawn; and finally the wars of Garibaldi for the union of Italy, conducted against Austria and the pope. In short, Italy, as far as in this period it can be considered a nation or people in itself, has had a history of war, while most of its individual states have been separately at war, or drawn into the wars of their dependencies.

Such, therefore, is our record as compared with that of England, France, Prussia, Russia, Austria, Spain, and Italy, in regard to war. And yet these constitute all the great powers of Europe, so that the comparison is exhaustive, and can be said to be with the whole world. It is a record of



peace compared with seven records of war; so that, when compared with the other great countries, our showing, notwithstanding the patronizing forebodings of war which others indulged in at our beginning, is the best of all. As far, therefore, as eight examples of history running through a hundred years can prove any thing, they prove that a free republican government is more calculated to keep at peace than a monarchy, and in so far to keep the peace of the world and promote the happiness of mankind.

And here we may observe, in passing, that in both of our wars we have been successful; so that never yet, as a nation, have we been conquered. In the same period, however, all those other nations have been once or oftener conquered. England was overcome in the first war of the French revolution, as well as in the American war. France was finally overcome in the wars of the Empire, and again in the war with Prussia in 1870. Prussia was overcome in the first war of the Revolution. Russia was badly conquered in the Crimean War. Austria was conquered in her wars with Napoleon, with Italy, and with Prussia. Italy was conquered in the Napoleonic wars, and in the war with Austria, in 1864, until she was rescued by Prussia. And Spain was conquered in her war with Napoleon and her first-mentioned war with England. Now, all this comparison proves, not only that a republic is as good as any other government in keeping at peace, but also as good, if forced into war, in raising armies and fighting its battles.

So much for the matter of foreign wars, which constitute, in general, a great part of the faults and failures of governments, as well as of the misery of mankind; all of which have been so signally avoided by our republic.

We shall speak next of rebellions and civil wars. In this respect, in particular, it was thought, at the beginning of our career, that we, as a nation, would come to woe. It was thought, in the first place, that, as a republic, with all the people free, and alike entitled to rule, we should be more exposed and inclined to civil dissensions; and in the second

place that, without a monarchical government, we should not be able to quell our rebellions when they should arise, and so to preserve the internal peace with force.

In comparing ourselves with the other great powers, however, we find that our history in this respect is not only creditable but vastly better than theirs. For, during all this time, we have had but one great rebellion or civil war; while in the same time England has had two, France eight, Prussia two, Russia four, Austria six, Spain six, and Italy three.

To compare more minutely, we observe that, in our long reign of internal peace, broken only once in the year 1861, England has had her Irish rebellion in 1798, and her Sepoy rebellion in 1857. We do not here speak of our bloodless whisky rebellion in 1786, or of Shea's rebellion in 1793. We shall speak of these hereafter in comparing our insurrections and riots with those of Europe, just as we shall of the so-called rebellion against England of Robert Emmet and his followers in 1803, and of the Chartists at Newport in 1839.

In France, in the same period, there have been the rebellions and civil wars of 1789, together with the revolutions immediately following; the rebellion in La Vendée in 1793; the rebellions and revolutions of 1830 and 1848; the *coup d'état* and civil war in 1851; and, finally, the rebellion and commune in 1870.

In Prussia, in this time, there have been the rebellion of the Liberals in 1848, which extended throughout the whole continent of Europe, and engaged particularly the students of the universities, and, to some extent, the soldiers in the army, and also the war of 1866, which was largely with parts of its own present territory, as Hanover, Frankfort, etc.

In Russia, which was struggling with a rebellion in the Crimea at the commencement of our career, and which had just closed the great Cossack Rebellion, there have been, during our existence as a nation, the rebellions of the Poles in 1795 and 1830, and rebellions in her Asiatic provinces in 1840 and 1872, resulting in the severe Khiva campaigns.

In Austria there have been, in this period, rebellions

in Lombardy in 1797, resulting in the loss of that province to Austria; in Milan, Venice, and Sardinia, in 1848; in Vienna in the same year, when Prince Metternich took his flight, and the emperor soon after was compelled to fly; and, finally, in Hungary, under Kossuth, in 1848.

In Spain, at this time, there have been the uprising of the Asturias in 1808; the wars of the Revolution in 1820; of the movement of Don Carlos in 1834; of O'Donnell and Concha, in favor of Christina, in 1841; the revolutionary wars of 1843; the revolt of Cuba in 1851; the military insurrection under Espartero in 1854; the present war against Cuba, commenced in 1868, and the present Carlist war, which was commenced about the same time.

And, finally, in Italy, in this same period, there have been the wars following the French revolution, which have been largely civil; also the internal revolutions of 1848 and 1849, which resulted in the independence of several of the states; and the succeeding wars of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel for the union of the Peninsula.

Thus, it will appear that, in all the great nations during the last hundred years, there have been more civil wars and rebellions than in ours, our republic making the best showing in the very respect in which it was predicted that we should fail altogether. As far, therefore, as the examples of all the great nations, taken for a hundred years, can prove any thing, they prove that a republic is less inclined to civil wars and rebellions than a monarchy. This ought to be enough to shut forever the mouths of those who object to republican institutions on the ground that they expose the people to lawlessness and civil strife.

We have, in this comparison, not included our wars with the Indians, or the wars of the other nations with their respective savages—the wars of England, for example, with the uncivilized tribes of Africa, Central Asia, Ashantee, etc.; those of France with the Arabs in Algiers; those of Russia with the northern Asiatic tribes; those of Spain with the South Americans and Mexicans, etc. There is nothing in

these wars of a civil, diplomatic, or international character, which could bear at all on the question now in discussion. It will be conceded, no doubt, that, having had in this respect as great a difficulty as any of the nations to deal with, we have solved it equally as well as they have solved their relations with the savages.

We shall speak next of insurrections, riots, and other uprisings and lawlessness of a smaller kind. In this respect our government will bear a favorable comparison with any or all of the others. We shall not attempt to enumerate all the various lawless uprisings, either of our own or of the other countries, as it would be an endless and tedious task without corresponding profit. We may observe, however, that about our only insurrections of any consequence have been the whisky rebellion, Shea's rebellion, the Kansas and Utah riots, John Brown's insurrection, the riot in New York to resist the draft, and the attack on the Orangemen in the same city. That is, in all our history we have had but seven insurrections of any consequence.

In the same time, however, the riots in other countries have been almost without number. Hardly a week passes but the Atlantic cable brings us news of a riot in some part of Europe. In Great Britain it is generally in the coal-mines, or at the great strikes among the mechanics, or else between the Orangemen and Catholics, or between the Fenians and royal police. In France and Spain the riots are generally of a political character, preceding elections and great events in the legislative assemblies. In Prussia they are generally socialistic, or on account of the price of beer or bread, of which there have been a great many. In Russia they are by Poles and Liberals, of whom great numbers have to be annually sent to Siberia; and in Italy they are either of a political or religious character, sometimes aiming at the independence of a state, and sometimes at a lawless restriction of some privilege to the pope or to the Church.

In all European countries riots are so numerous, and the tendency to them so great, that it has been found necessary to

maintain great armies to keep down the people, and also to support much larger bodies of police than with us. Many of the streets and public buildings are permanently guarded; the houses of the people are carefully watched and often searched; the people themselves are generally kept under a police surveillance by a system of registration or passports; and, in various other ways, precautions are taken against lawless uprisings, all because of this tendency to riot. In short, without specifying the cases here in particular, it will be in general admitted that riots in other countries have been more numerous during the last hundred years than in ours, and that we, instead of being exceptionally plagued with them, enjoy an exceptional immunity from them.

There is, therefore, no justification in our history of the adverse prophecies and forebodings, which were indulged in at the beginning of our career, about lawlessness and dissensions which, it was thought, would prove so numerous as to render our government impossible; but, on the other hand, our history, as compared with that of the others, shows, as far as the example of all the great nations for a hundred years can show, that a republic is no more inclined to riots and disorders than any other form of government, but, on the contrary, that it is less exposed to them.

We shall speak next of revolutions, or governmental overthrows. For it was predicted at the beginning of our career that we should be the prey of revolutionists, and that the republican government with which we began would not long endure, but be overthrown for others, and finally end in anarchy or a monarchy.

We find, however, that in all our history there has not only not been any revolution, but not any attempt at any. For even the great rebellion did not aim at an overthrow of our government, but only at the withdrawal of some of the States from the Union. Our government has stood not only unmoved, but even unattacked during all this time. In the same period, however, all the other great powers, except Great Britain and Russia, have been overthrown, and these only

barely escaped. For, in the last hundred years, France has had ten revolutions, Prussia one, Austria one, Spain fifteen, and Italy five.

To particularize, we say that, during our first century, we have not only not had one overthrow of our government, or of any one of our State governments, but we have made no radical change in our government. The same constitution, the same general basis of laws, the same free institutions all stand as they stood at the beginning. The changes that we have made have been only for the perfecting of our system. We have, if possible, become more republican than ever, or more perfectly a republic.

If in England there has not, in this time, been any revolution in the full sense of the term, there has been almost the same thing in the changes that have been forced on the government through the enemies of that government. There was, in 1801, a general reconstruction of the whole empire, by which Ireland was incorporated, and a new name given to the empire. The title of "King of France" was dropped by the British ruler, and his realm called "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." At the same time, a series of reformatory and liberalizing measures have been adopted by parliament, by which an almost entirely new character has been given to the empire. England has been peaceably revolutionized, even though she had not had any violent revolutions. This last remark will also apply in part to Russia. But, admitting that in the general sense there have been no revolutions in England and Russia during the last hundred years, we find them the only exceptions, and the only powers that can stand beside the United States as examples of governmental stability.

For, in Prussia, in this period, besides the revolutions which it has been compelled to undergo as part of Germany (in the several overthrows of the German Empire), of which we shall speak presently, her government was forcibly overthrown in 1848, when the present king, then regent, was compelled to fly for his life, and a new constitution was forced

by the revolutionists on the state, a circumstance similar to what occurred in nearly all the other states of the Continent, when Prague and Copenhagen and Munich and Athens were all besieged by their own citizens, and the kings of the two latter capitals compelled to abdicate.

In Austria, in this time, there has been besides the revolution overthrowing the king as the Emperor of Germany and compelling him to withdraw altogether his power from the German state, and besides the change by which the government was changed to that of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, there has been, in 1848, a similar overthrow of the government to that just described in Prussia. The capital was stormed, and the Emperor Ferdinand compelled to resign, and Francis Joseph was installed in his place with a new constitution and new dynastic principles.

In France, in this time, there have been in succession the Revolution of 1792 and the establishment of the republic; the overthrow in 1795 of the Directory and Council of Five Hundred and the establishment of the consulate; the overthrow of this in 1804 and the establishment of the empire; the overthrow of this in 1814 and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy; the restoration of the empire again in 1815; the restoration of the Bourbons the same year; the restoration and enthronement of Louis Philippe in 1830; the overthrow of the Orleanist dynasty and establishment of the republic in 1848; the overthrow of this and the re-establishment of the empire by Napoleon in 1853; and, finally, the overthrow of Napoleon and the establishment of the republic in 1870.

In Spain, in this time, there have been the following revolutions: In 1808 Charles IV. abdicated in favor of Ferdinand. The same year Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Spain; he was almost immediately ousted, and again restored. In 1814 his government was overthrown, and Ferdinand again restored. In 1820 a popular revolution was successful, which put a new constitution and a new cortes in power. In 1823 this cortes and constitution were overthrown, and there was a



return to despotism. In 1833, on the death of Ferdinand, the infanta Isabella seized the throne. In 1840 another revolution compelled the dissolution of the cortes, and the forming of a new ministry. In 1843 the regency of Espartero was overthrown by a revolution commencing at Barcelona. The same year there was a reaction against the new government, and Isabella, then thirteen years old, was declared of age and made queen. By a new insurrection Espartero next gets control and forms a new ministry under himself. Next, in 1868, we have Isabella expelled, and soon after Amadeus made king. Then, in 1872, the republic is declared, and finally, in 1874, Alfonso is made king.

And, finally, in Italy, in this time, which was largely under Austria at the beginning of our career, there have been the following revolutions: In 1798 the complexion of the government was changed entirely by the wars following the French revolution, the old Germanic-Italian Empire being destroyed entirely. In 1802 the Italian republic was formed, with Bonaparte for president. In 1805 this was made a kingdom under Bonaparte. In 1814 Austrian rule was re-established. Next, we have revolts and overthrows of particular states, until Garibaldi restores the unity of all Italy under Victor Emmanuel.

Such is the history of the great nations in regard to revolutions; a history in general of overthrows and governmental insecurity. At the same time, we might add that all the small German and Italian states, and, in general, the smaller monarchies and principalities of whatever kind, have, in this period, been many times overthrown, or merged in larger states or empires, so that, in most cases, the thrones of Europe, even, have not stood the century through, much less the dynasties. The map of Europe has been all changed over and over again, and European history, instead of being fixed like the mountains, is changeable like the sea. While, therefore, our republic has stood like a house founded upon a rock, without being so much as shaken by the storms of surrounding wars and revolutions, the European monarchies have yielded to every popular wave, and been often swept away by the slightest



gusts. Surely the history of the last hundred years proves, as far as the example of all the nations for a hundred years can prove, that republics are no more exposed to revolutions than monarchies, but, on the contrary, are even more secure than they.

And here let us observe that, in all this period in which our republic has stood so securely and peacefully, all the great imperial confederacies or empires, which alone correspond in magnitude and difficulty of management with our union of States, have been overturned. For, after all, the comparison should be made, more properly, with those confederacies than with the single states. For ours is a nation of nations, embracing as many states as all of Europe put together, and bound up in one great union of the whole. We have not merely a nation and a nation's difficulties to deal with, but a cluster of nations, our republic embracing the most numerous and extensive alliance of states that has ever been known in history. And yet, while the little European confederacies could scarcely keep united long enough to effect the purposes of a campaign, and while, when they were united, they have been but short-lived and full of dissension, we have not only stood as a whole during all this time, preserving our great central republic in entirety and security, but have carried on, with equal success, and without internal or interstate difficulties or dangers, some thirty-seven independent republics. The great wheel and the wheels within the wheel have all been running without jars or breakage, and promise, for the next century, to run as smoothly as ever. We have done this, while all the similar confederacies of a monarchical character have been revolutionized or entirely destroyed. For, in this same period, the German Empire or confederation has been four times overthrown, the federacy of the Italian states likewise four times, and the Austrian Empire three times; and all the single states composing each of those empires have likewise been overthrown, most of them many times, in the last hundred years.

For the German Empire was broken up in 1804 by Napoleon, who formed in its stead the Confederation of the Rhine. Eleven years later this confederation was destroyed, and the German Federation formed. In 1866 this was again destroyed, and the North-German Confederation made to take its place. And, finally, in 1870, this was made to give way to the present German Empire. In the same period the Austrian Empire or its relations with the German Empire—a vital part of itself—was revolutionized in 1804, 1815, and 1866, as already explained; and the Italian federation of states, under whatever name, was overturned in 1802, 1805, 1814, and 1856, not to count the partial revolutions at other times.

Thus, a comparison of our federal success with that of the European confederacies proves, as far as the example of all the great confederations of the world for a hundred years can prove any thing, that a republican confederation can stand and preserve all its parts as well as a kingly one. The nearest approach to our federal success is that of the similar republican confederation of Switzerland.

In the next place, we may observe that in all this period of a hundred years there has been no change in our territory by conquest, division, or cession, except a constant increase. No foot of land has ever been wrested from us by force, none ever awarded by arbitration to another power against us, none ever sold by us from fear that it would be taken by an enemy, none ever parted with for any cause whatever. There has been no division of our territory by the withdrawal of any state or section, no disunion or releasing of our power in any degree over one acre of land. The land, and the government over it all, has been maintained, so that it is all and altogether ours. No part that has ever been in dispute have we yielded, and no power that we have ever claimed over neutral ground or the sea-coast have we given up. On the other hand, we have in this time added the immense tracts of Louisiana (including the greater part of the Mississippi Valley), Florida, Texas, New Mexico, California, and Alaska—as much, almost, as the entire territory of Europe.

In the same period of time, however, on the other hand, the territory of all the great European states, or their power over it, has been materially changed, nearly every nation, at one time or another, losing a material part of itself. Spain has lost Mexico and nearly all her South American and West India possessions. England, besides losing, at the beginning of this period, her American colonies, has lost her title and claim as King of France and all her pretensions to equilibrate the Continent. France has lost, besides Hayti, her beautiful provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and her entire claim to the west bank of the Rhine. Prussia has lost all control over Denmark, and over Luxembourg, Bohemia, and the other German states now under Austria, which she formerly exercised as part of the German Empire. Russia has lost her claims on the South and East which she was compelled to forego in the Crimean War. Italy has lost (for most of this time) Savoy, Piedmont, Nice, and all right to a control in the German Empire; and Austria has lost not only its Italian possessions, but its supremacy and entire control in Germany.

In short, a comparison of our government in its acquisitions with those of Europe, which have had all these losses, and, at the same time, had no gains to compare at all with our enormous acquisitions above mentioned, proves, as far as a comparison of all the great powers of the civilized world can prove any thing, that a republic can preserve its territory and aggrandize itself quite as well as a monarchy.

On the whole, therefore, we think we can safely conclude, from this exhaustive and somewhat minute comparison of our nation with the other great nations in all that constitutes the general objects and evidences of good government, that we have, during our century of existence with our republican institutions, had peace, stability, and security, equal to any monarchy of Europe. Our people have, in general, felt just as safe in their lives and property, whether against their fellow-citizens or against an enemy, as any others in the world, and, except in a few instances, they have in every way had just as effective governmental protection.

We might close our article here, as having given already a sufficient answer to the inquiries so frequently made about the success of republics, and of ours in particular, and also to the prophecies and forebodings that were indulged in about our certain failure as our fathers set out a hundred years ago. But we shall add here, without attempting to elaborate or specify (which we hope to do at another time), that not only have we, under our republican government, enjoyed the negative advantages of peace and security equal to any other people, but we have also been enabled, under the same government, to develop our resources quite as well, and to advance the happiness of our people in as great a degree. Our agriculture has proceeded with such improvements in implements and success in method, that we are able, with less labor than any European country, to support ourselves, and, to an extent, to feed the whole world besides. Our mining operations have been the most extensive and successful on record, so that we are in a condition to largely supply Europe, at a cheaper rate than she can produce at home, with the more important minerals, such as coal, iron, petroleum, and gold. Our manufactures are fast coming to compete in nearly all departments (and not in a few only, as in France, Italy, and Germany respectively) with those of any part of the world; rivalling England in her specialty of hardware and cotton goods, Germany in woollen and earthenwares, France in wines and fineries, and Italy in silks and marbles. Our commerce is larger than that of any other nation except England, and embraces, as few others do, all the civilized and half-civilized peoples. In the fine arts we have made a proud beginning, having done more in architecture during the last century than any nation of Europe. In short, our success has been such that never in the course of a hundred years has there been so much done in any other country, or a nation which has grown so rich or great. Certainly, our industrial and commercial history proves that a monarchy is not necessary to develop a country well.

As for the apprehension so often expressed that, being

theoretical and impractical, as republicans are generally charged with being, we could not carry out our ideals, we are famed for being the most practical people in the world, and are distinctively known as "the practical nation." And as for the apprehension that, being republicans, and enthusiastically devoted to an idea, we would not care sufficiently for money and material interests, but only for politics and pettifoggery, we have the reputation in Europe of caring more for money than any other people; as also, we may add, of having more money.

Our people, moreover, are just as moral as any other, notwithstanding the old apprehensions that we would run to licentiousness, infidelity, and every thing that is tentative and revolutionary. We have more churches than any country in Europe, and the people take a greater interest in religion. In fact, it has often been remarked by foreigners, that we are the only religious nation in the world, and this, notwithstanding, we have no state religion or religious laws. The benevolence of our people, and their care for the poor and unfortunate, are quite as great as in any other land, and our benevolent institutions quite as numerous and well supported. Crime is no more common than in other lands, the greater part of our criminals being foreigners. In short, our history abundantly illustrates the fact that a republic, without any state church or army, or great body of police, can develop and maintain as moral a class of citizens as any other.

With regard to education, our people are, as a whole, more intelligent than any other. If Prussia has men more learned than we, we have a greater number of learned men. Our common-school system is quite as good as any in Europe, and is, perhaps, more calculated than any other to substantially elevate the whole people. Our colleges are more numerous than in any other country, and the number of students greater, and the best of them are fast taking rank in wealth and facilities for culture with the best European universities which have stood for centuries. The education of our women, in particular, is of a higher degree than that of

any other land; and, in general, there are not so many who cannot read and write, or who are ignorant of the common branches as in other countries. The North-German states alone are our rival in universal elementary education.

While, moreover, our institutions of whatever kind, and for whatever purpose, are in general of the best, showing that republican government is compatible with the best social and political appliances which have hitherto been known, we have also developed some new ones of special excellence, which were hitherto either unknown, or else existed as mere doubtful problems in the heads of impractical theorists. One of these is the separation of church and state, without detriment either to the state or to religion. Another is the absolute freedom of all religions and anti-religions without any deleterious effect on our customs or morals. Another is the complete secularization of the schools, with similar harmlessness to both religion and education. Another is dispensing with a standing army without exposing ourselves to either internal or external assaults. And another is the absolute equality of all men, including the abolition of ranks, titles, and privileges, without detriment to anybody. In short, our republic has, besides exemplifying the usual governmental virtues and services, also done the additional service to mankind of introducing some superior new institutions for the insuring of intellectual, religious, and personal freedom. There is now scarcely any degree of liberty or equality conceivable, even in the most extravagant ideas, that we have not embodied in our system, and proven to be henceforth possible.

And, finally, it may be observed, as a general result, that our people are, on the whole, as comfortable as any in the world, which is, after all, the most adequate test of a government's success. More of them are wealthy and living in fine houses with plenty to do and to eat than in any other country. They more generally marry and live in families than elsewhere, everybody having a home, and every family, as a general thing, a whole house to itself. The people are thrifty and hopeful, nearly every one expecting that himself or his children will one day be rich or great.

On the whole, therefore, we think that we can safely conclude that our history and our present condition abundantly prove the success of our government, and that the old prejudices and uncertainties as to the practicability of a republic may be set aside as forever exploded. It can no longer be said that republicanism has no experience in its favor. Side by side with the most successful monarchies that have ever existed, and in the most successful period of their existence, we have just seen its superiority by the most exact and minute tests that are possible. And now after one century, in which our free experiment has been such a transcendent success and in no respect proved a failure, we have as good a prospect for the next hundred years as any nation in the world.

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- ART. III.—1. *Système Nerveux*. Par M. VULPIAN. Paris. 1866.
2. *Leçons de Physiologie Expérimentale*. Par M. BERNARD. Paris. 1858.
3. *A Critical and Experimental Inquiry into the Relations subsisting between Nerve and Muscle*. By SIR CHARLES BELL.
4. *Expériences sur le Principe de la vie, notamment sur celui des Mouvements du Cœur et sur le Siège de ce Principe*. Par M. LEGALLOIS. Paris. 1832.
5. *Experimental Inquiries Concerning the Functions of the Cerebral Centres*. By PROFESSOR FERRIER, of King's College, London. *Lancet* for 1875.
6. *Various Memoirs and Addresses*. By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D. Before the New York Neurological Society.
7. *Physiology of the Nervous System*. By AUSTIN FLINT, JR., M. D. New York. 1874.

THE uses and abuses of vivisection, as an *agendum* in ascertaining the functions of the various centres of the nervous system, constitute a question so various in its aspects, and of



such material importance to science, as to render it difficult to discuss the subject within the limits that can be conveniently accorded in a quarterly review. And yet the attention that has been recently given in England to the best methods of eliminating the more cruel aspects of the practice furnishes a sufficient justification for calling the attention of the enlightened American public to its cisatlantic abuses, while, at the same time, taking some pains to show that, for the general purposes of physiological investigation, it is unnecessary to resort to experiments on living animals; and that, at least, a given point having been experimentally demonstrated and recorded, repetition of the demonstration before classes should be discontinued. For, granting all that the most enthusiastic defenders of vivisection claim—and they claim vastly more than the facts really warrant—it is certainly a waste of ingenuity to demonstrate, over and over again, that which has passed into the record as verified. Students who, from actual dissection, are thoroughly acquainted with the anatomy of the nervous system, can understand the bearing of a fact that has once been ascertained, as to the function of a given centre, as readily without as with ocular demonstration. And, in a general way, it may be stated, without danger of contradiction, that the excessive prominence given to such experiments of late years has tended materially to lessen the interest taken in dissection, and thus to render anatomical investigation less thorough and minute than it formerly was, particularly in medical colleges. To such an extent is this the case that physicians cannot, as a rule, be classed as thorough and practised anatomists, and thus the medical profession has lost in profundity what it has gained in actual experimental knowledge.

The excess in this direction that now prevails dates from the brilliant investigations of Magendie, Legallois, and Flourens, in France, and of Sir Charles Bell in England, whose important discoveries laid the foundation of a view as to the physiology of the nervous system that subsequent experiments have confirmed, but to which very little has been added, although nearly half a century has elapsed since Bell published his first



paper in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. Herr Goltz,\* a German vivisector of great ingenuity, and Dr. Brown-Séquard, have been successful in showing that the gray tissue of the spinal column is the seat of certain reflex actions; it has been demonstrated, also, in opposition to the views of Bell, Solly, Gall, Spurzheim, and others, that the gray tissue of the spinal column is the proper propagator of sensation.

It has, furthermore, been somewhat conclusively indicated, by the brilliant and original experiments of Dr. Ferrier, that the convolutions of the brain are distinct and separate centres of activity, and that, in the corresponding portions of non-convolute brains, are situated corresponding centres. For example, all voluntary movements originate in the convolutions of the anterior lobes of the cerebrum, and have the striated bodies as their ganglia, while the posterior ganglia are motor in their function only as respects the act of seeing, and move the lateral muscles concerned in turning to see. Still, behind the latter lie two nervous bodies, styled the *corpora quadrigemina*, being, as Gall believed, the true optic centres. Their connection with the cerebellum, by means of a band of fibres known as the valve of Vieussens, determines their influence on locomotion.

To illustrate this point in a comprehensive manner, when a man starts back to avoid contact with a suddenly presented impediment, the apparently instinctive act is due to the connection between the latter and the cerebellum; but when, having caught a passing glimpse of some object laterally situated, one turns to verify the half-formed impression by direct examination, the act is due to the function of the posterior ganglia. At the same time, the optic lobes having a connection with the gray matter of the spinal cord by means of their peduncles, two white cords which plunge through the *pons varolii* and enter into the structure of the vital centres, the sudden nausea

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\* The investigations of Herr Goltz are principally familiar to the English public through Huxley's description of them, before the British Association, in the summer of 1874. His great work, *Die Nerven-Centren*, has never been translated, but abounds in original investigations.

consequent upon seeing a repulsive object is the instinctive response of those centres to the act of vision; or, conversely, if the object is a beautiful one, the act of vision is accompanied by a more pleasurable class of movements, as by laughter, by smiling, or by a forward inclination of the body. In the lower vertebrate animals, where the posterior ganglia are absent, it may be observed that the optic lobes themselves are motor as respects vision; that is to say, are ganglia of motion as well as of sensation. This takes place in the pike.

The subject naturally presents itself under two aspects: First, as respects the cruelties necessarily inflicted on animals by experimentation, which will be conclusive to the popular mind; and second, as respects the question, whether its contributions to science have been such as in any manner to justify its continuance as an adjunct in physiological investigation. If it is justifiable at all, considering the revolting inhumanity which is one of its essential elements, its justification rests solely on the ground that, by contributing to our knowledge of the functions of the nervous system, it enables physicians to detect and identify different forms of nervous disorder with more certainty, and thus to save valuable lives; and if it can be conclusively shown that its contributions have not been material, it must be relegated to oblivion as one of the barbarisms of an age when, as by Descartes, an accomplished vivisector, animals were regarded as automata.

While it is alleged that the use of anæsthetic agents has been instrumental in greatly mitigating the cruelties of vivisection, it is, nevertheless, true that many experiments have to be conducted without those agents, in order to secure the proper results. In passing a ligature round the neck of the gall-bladder of a dog, for example, the animal may be rendered insensible during the operation; but, in order that the symptoms may be noted, it is necessary that it should be kept alive for days without any mitigation of the torture. In like manner, in experiments on the secretive processes, it is always essential that the animal should recover from the stupor, and suffer for a longer or shorter period, or the experiment is valueless. In

order to comprehend the revolting nature of some of these experiments, the reader must imagine a dog strapped down to an experimenting table, by passing several straps around his body. The hind-legs having been drawn back and apart are strapped down tightly, the fore-legs are treated in the same manner. A strap is then passed firmly over the hips, another over the fore-shoulders, a third over the nose, so that it is impossible for the poor creature to utter a cry of pain. For some classes of experiments the bare preparation is thus attended with a torture to the animal that no scientific jargon about nervous centres can palliate.

All this having been done, incision after incision follows, the animal being so strapped down as to be even incapable of shrinking under the scalpel, while perceptible convulsions follow each other in rapid succession through the strapped limbs, and low, stifled moans attest the agony of the operation. Even when overpowered with anaesthetics, so that there is no reflex action of the nerves when the cornea of the eye is menaced with destruction, it is not infrequent that spasms follow the stroke of the knife, and that the animal trembles visibly at each incision, while, in experiments on animals in the normal state, *tears* of torture and terror are often perceptible. Nor is removal of the brain always, and unquestionably, accompanied with a cessation of the agony. Goltz argues very strongly, from experiments with frogs, that these animals are capable of intelligent muscular movements after deprivation of the cerebral hemispheres. They will not only swim on being thrown into the water, but will even get out of it after the brain has been removed. Vulpian is of the same opinion; and it may be concluded, in a general way, that in many of the lower animals the spinal cord is one of the seats of sensibility. If, for instance, the ear of a rat is compressed with the forceps after removal of the cerebrum, it utters such piercing cries as are readily identifiable as the exponents of sharp agony, and not as results of mere automatic reflex action. Indeed, it may be stated as a general rule that, so long as the central mass at the base of the brain (*tuber*

*annulare*) and the vital centres are left, the lower animals under experiment are perfectly capable of feeling pain and of appreciating its intensity, and also of voluntary movements. The case is not so well settled as to the higher vertebrates, but it admits of no well-founded dissent.

In experiments on the vital centres, again, unless the animal is instantly killed, convulsions at once supervene. The general method of demonstrating that the oblong continuation of the spinal column, as it enters the skull, presides over respiration, is first to remove the brain, section by section, without impairing the function, and this must be done when the animal is in a normal condition. This part of the experiment amounts to negative evidence only. Taking a fresh dog and securely strapping it down, the experimenter grasps the head firmly, flexes it forcibly on the neck, and penetrates the skull with a stylet between the atlas and the skull. Then, by a quick lateral movement of the instrument, the nervous matter is broken up, and the dog ceases to breathe. The experiment is conducted in this manner at Bellevue, and death may supervene instantly in the hands of an expert. On the other hand, if it is bunglingly managed, the animal lingers in struggles and spasms. Brown-Séquard says that respiration may be again established after the vital point has been punctured, and that, consequently, the death, when it occurs under the operation, results from the shock and irritation; and Schiff has noted minutely that dogs live for a certain period after injury to the so-called vital point, which, after all, is not yet demonstrated to be vital. Again, in opening the abdomen to observe the respiratory movements of the diaphragm, it is impracticable to use mitigating agents, and the animal must be strapped down on its back in such a manner as to preclude writhing and other movements, and to hold it firmly during the period of observation. Any person who has once witnessed one of these experiments will appreciate the cruelty of the operation without superfluous description; and one who has not can imagine the contortions and cries better than any pen can describe them. Nothing more pro-

longed and plaintive can be dreamed of under the influence of confirmed indigestion than the cries of a rat, after removal of the hemispheres, when the ear is sharply grasped with the forceps.

In like manner, the standard demonstration as to the function of the optic lobes, usually conducted with pigeons, is equally reprehensible, though very simple. A portion of the skull is first removed, so as to uncover one of the hemispheres, when the optic lobe is seen, as a large, white tubercle, between the posterior portion of the cerebrum and the anterior quarter of the cerebellum. Making a slit in its capsule, the operator breaks up the tubercle with forceps. On recovery from the shock, it is found that the bird is blind of one eye. In experiments on the cerebellum, the general practice is, having strapped down the animal, to slit up the scalp and remove the posterior portion of the skull, just above the upper insertion of the muscles of the neck, leaving a strip of bone down the middle so as to prevent hemorrhage.

This, however, is not essential. The cerebellum may then be removed by slicing, or broken up with forceps, when the irregular movements may be noted in detail as very similar to those of intoxication. The animal must be in a perfectly normal condition, in order that the symptoms may be noted as proceeding from the vivisection, not from disturbances produced by other agencies. The symptoms are, it may be stated, very vertiginous in all their aspects—indeed, so highly so as to bring up the question whether they are not secondary rather than primary results. It often happens, also, that the animal recovers its regularity of movement after excision of a considerable portion of the cerebellum; but that the organ has considerable influence on muscular co-ordination there can be no serious doubt. As will be presently observed, this view is sustained by anatomical inference, and might have been established independently of experimental data. In fishes, the voluntary movements are not always wholly destroyed by extirpation of this centre, because of a distribution of nervous fibres from the facial ganglia to the lateral muscles of the body; and

in the anatomy of the frog an analogous fact of nervous distribution presents itself; while in the higher animals the destruction of voluntary movement is pretty general; so general as to be nearly conclusive that it regulates voluntary motions, although it may not originate them. This point will, however, be discussed more at length presently, in connection with the more strictly scientific aspect of the subject.

Considering the cruelties of vivisection as only modified in a few instances by anæsthetic agents, which cannot be satisfactorily employed in many standard experiments, the question naturally comes up, whether the practice is of such value to science as to warrant its perpetuation. Our own view may be stated unreservedly as the negative one; but, as a question of this kind cannot be settled without going into detail, the reader will, perhaps, pardon our doing so in an issue of such material importance. From the movements that occur under the influence of anæsthesia in surgical operations, it is very certain that the phenomena occurring under vivisection, even when this agency is employed, very frequently result from general sympathy of the torpid nervous system with the lesion of a particular part of the animal economy. In the normal state of the animal, this source of uncertainty is so material, that perfect reliance cannot be placed on many of the standard experiments. It is not certain, for example, whether, in puncture of the vital point, death supervenes as the result of the lesion directly, or as the result of the irritation or shock; and, in many other instances, a similar uncertainty prevails among the most expert experimentalists, as is illustrated in the many contradictory statements of the highest authorities.

The experiments of Fritsch and Hitzig, who, on exposing the cerebral hemispheres in dogs, found that certain parts of the anterior portions responded to a feeble galvanic current, producing movements restricted to special sets of muscles, have, for illustration, been disputed by the celebrated Longet, who states that he has applied the current to the brains of goats with purely negative results. Dr. Flint, also, states that experiments on pigeons develop no such movements. It is

true that very slight hemorrhage, comparatively speaking, impairs the function of the brain, and it is very likely that superior delicacy in conducting the experiments may have insured the success that Fritsch and Hitzig record. The experiments of Dr. Ferrier, by far the most brilliant and successful that have been recorded on this point, indicate, indeed, that the German investigators were not at fault in their statements as to the existence of separate centres of motion in the anterior portion of the brain; and, as they are of the highest importance to psychological as well as to medical science, no apology is due for introducing them as the first of a series of descriptions, intended, by comparing the results of experiment with those of anatomical study, to show that the former process has added little of material value to a sound science of physiology. Here, if anywhere, it must vindicate its reason for being, and our estimate of it shall be taken on the ground most insisted upon by its advocates. Dr. Ferrier's experiments were attended with little pain to the animal, which was invariably placed under very complete anæsthesia before commencing operations.

Having attended to this preliminary, the whole superior portion of the cranium is removed, also the dura mater or external tunic of the brain, and the Faradaic current is applied to one quarter after another with an ordinary electrode. The one condition to be observed is, that the anæsthesia shall be so complete, and maintained with such regularity and exactness, that the muscular phenomena consequent upon the electrical stimulant may be recorded as unquestionably due to the action of the current, and to that only; in other words, so complete and regular that none of the resultant muscular movements can be classed as convulsions consequent upon the general disturbances that follow lesion in a vital quarter. It is a noticeable fact, in reviewing these experiments, however, that they have added comparatively little, except in the form of experimental verification, to the views deduced by Gall and Spurzheim from the intimate structure of the brain itself. This coincidence of experimental inquiry with anatomical in-



ference leads directly to the point that constitutes, in our opinion, one of the principal scientific arguments against the practice of vivisection, namely, that, as a general rule, anatomical inference is equally conclusive as to function, and that, where vivisection and anatomy are in opposition, as they have been occasionally during the last fifty years, it generally occurs that more delicately-conducted experiments finally verify the anatomical inference.

To take another pertinent example: It was long in dispute whether the spinal cord is capable of reflex action, that is to say, of transforming a sensation into motion. To speak in more concrete terms, the question was unsettled whether the movements of the leg that follow tickling the sole of the foot very lightly were consequent upon reflex action of the cord, or upon reflex action of the cerebral centres in which the sensation is correlated as consciousness. Various phenomena, such as the fact that, under tolerably complete anæsthesia, and without any consciousness of doing so, the patient generally responds to tickling with the same movements that ordinarily occur, tended to render an affirmative answer to this question necessary; while, on the other hand, the traditions of nervous physiology were in opposition to that view of the case, which has but recently been demonstrated by conclusive experiments at the hands of Galtz and Dr. Brown-Séquard, although it has long been held by thoughtful physiologists as probable. The former, having removed the brain of a frog, was successful in causing the animal to croak by stroking its back with the tip of the finger; and not only this, but any number of croaks could be produced in succession, croak for stroke, by repeating the process, so that no question was left as to the fact that the sensation consequent upon the contact was actually transformed into muscular movements of a very complex class. After such mutilation, also, on being placed in the water very gently, the animal commenced to swim with its usual facility, and ceased the movements when it was removed from its native element, and placed on the table; thus indicating clearly that the very complex, associated



movements of swimming were the exponents of a sensation received in the spinal cord, and there transformed into motion.

It is even experimentally demonstrated that the gray matter of the cord is susceptible of a certain degree of education. Having procured a couple of kittens, one of our younger experimentalists made a pet of one of them for several months, leaving the other to run wild, while its fellow was taught to purr when its back was stroked. After such an education, continued for a sufficient period to establish the habit of purring in answer to caresses, the experimentalist subjected both animals to the same treatment, removing the brain-pan and excising the cerebral lobes, including the striated bodies and the posterior ganglia, and thus extinguishing all capability of voluntary motion. When, however, after recovery from the anæsthetic, the educated animal was gently stroked along the back, it responded with the habitual purr, while the uneducated one was insensible to the caress. It is very evident, therefore, that the tissues of the cord are competent not only to produce the more general instinctive movements, but also to acquire new combinations of sensation and motion, and to execute them irrespective of the conscious operations of the brain.

In adducing these experiments it was, however, our intention simply to compare them with recent anatomical investigations, and to indicate the fact that the controversy might have been settled in that way, without resorting to vivisection. If the reader will trouble himself to make a thin, transverse section of the spinal cord at the roots of any pair of spinal nerves, and, having prepared it properly, to digest it in oil of turpentine until it is tolerably transparent, he will be able to trace out, filament by filament, the anatomical arrangement upon which reflex spinal action depends, and to observe the filaments of the posterior or sensory roots entering the gray matter at its posterior horns, while filaments from the anterior roots enter at the anterior horns.

A very intricate intertexture of these two classes of filaments, both with each other and with the nerve-

cells of the interior of the cord, reveals itself when the section, considerably magnified, is moved to and fro under the microscope,\* the whole constituting a proper nerve-centre, and the spinal cord consisting of a series of such centres, each capable of reflex action and of instinctive movements appropriate to its situation. It is evident, therefore, that, had students of nervous physiology set about to solve the question by anatomical investigation, in place of the multiplied experiments that have been recorded within the last twenty years, the same result would have followed from anatomical inference; and it is equally evident, from perusal of the current literature of science, that thorough anatomical investigation has been comparatively neglected in the general prevalence, since Bell and Magendie recorded their results of the mania for vivisection. In a similar manner, as to the function of the *pons varolii*, or of the medulla oblongata, anatomical inference has simply been verified—if pathological phenomena, such as those resulting from mutilation, can be regarded as in the nature of verifications—by experiments, as to which it cannot be candidly stated that they have materially contributed to the formation of definite and well-grounded views concerning the physiology of these centres. It should be stated, however, that there are material anatomical differences between the anterior and posterior roots of the spinal nerves, as to the manner of their communication with the brain, the former penetrating the gray matter directly, and immediately connecting with large multipolar cells, which give origin to fibres that ascend to the brain as portions of the anterior white cords, while, as to the latter, some of the fibres pass into the posterior gray horns, some ascend directly as elements of the posterior

\* Stricker's *Manual of Histology*. Dr. Beale has, also, pictured very excellent sections in his recent volume entitled *How to Work with the Microscope*; but the most exhaustive and exact data for definite views of the histology of the cord have been recorded by Deiters, who is one of the contributors to Stricker's *Manual*. Dr. Luys has, it is true, published some positive statements, accompanied with diagrams of a very idealizing cast, but his views have so little weight that they need not be discussed.

white cords, and some obviously descend and communicate with the great enlargement of the gray matter at the lower extremity of the column. Finally, a careful following of the course and distribution of the filaments in transparent section of the spinal cord of a dog in our possession, and a tracing of the prolongations of the nerve-cells very conclusively indicate that the vivisectors are correct in the statement that there is a general decussation having its seat in the gray matter. Dr. Lionel S. Beale's anatomical studies of the cord,\* indeed, conclusively establish this point, irrespective of any evidence of our own; and it may, therefore, from his sections, be regarded as a settled point, that experiment has developed no facts as to the functions of the spinal column, which might not long since have been gathered by thorough anatomical work.

To take another pertinent example, careful collation of the facts of comparative anatomy furnishes evidence as conclusive as Ferrier's experiments that, although in the relatively greater condensation of the brains of the higher vertebrates, they appear to form portions of the lateral ventricles simply, each *pes hippocampi* is properly a nervous centre. In the brains of very young rodents, such as mice, rabbits, and squirrels, these bodies may be readily identified as distinct organs in which the respective ends of the anterior commissure of the cerebrum terminate. At certain stages of foetal development they may also be traced as centres in the brains of the higher vertebrates and in the human brain; and thus Dr. Ferrier has merely verified by experiment that which might have been inferred from the dissection of cadavers, had the brains been sufficiently well prepared to admit of a thorough unfolding of structure, by pickling in acetic acid and alcohol, or even in alcoholic solution of nitric acid. The function of these bodies, with which the olfactory bulbs are connected by small, white cords or peduncles, is determined by their anatomical relations, but the strongest fact of all is that, taken in connection with the anterior commissure, they

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\* Beale's *Microscope in Clinical Medicine*.

reproduce the brain of the insect as a part of the fundamental structure of the vertebrate nervous system, a point that may be of interest to Darwinists, but is too remote from the present discussion to allow of more than mention. To dismiss the topic, if anatomical homologies may be extended so far as to include the nervous system of the oyster and that of the man in one comprehensive generalization, the speculation of the earlier anatomists, that compared the lateral ganglia of the mollusk with the Gasserian ganglia of the human brain, was an error,\* and the proper homologies of the former are sought, if anywhere, in the vertebrate brain, in two nervous bodies scarcely identifiable as centres in the adult cerebrum of the rodent, and altogether unidentifiable in that of the man.

To take a third example, and one worth specializing, it has been indicated by various experiments that the lumbar enlargement of the cord is a distinct centre, or group of centres, although it can scarcely be said to have been demonstrated. Here, again, anatomical inference was competent to settle the question, irrespective of vivisection. For example, in the foetal development of the human nervous system the gray tissue of the spinal cord commences in two main centres, the superior and the lumbar, that is to say, in the region of the medulla oblongata and in the inferior or lumbar region. At birth, the gray tissue occasionally predominates above and below, to the complete exclusion of the middle region, although usually a trace is visible along the whole interior length of the spinal medulla. The superior gray tissue then gradually pushes downward centrally, while the lumbar centre pushes upward, the two elongations at last meeting and coalescing into what appears to be one great excitor centre, when superficially examined, but which on due examination proves to be two centres. During life, some of the fibres of the posterior roots ascend toward the one, while others descend toward the other; but it is only by possession of this leading fact of nervous development that the student of

\* *The Science of Life*. By Sylvester Graham. This question has, also, been very fully discussed by German anatomists.

physiology is enabled to verify the probabilities established by experiment. Here, also, he is enabled to lift physiology out of the purely empirical, and to grasp, as a philosophical conception, one of the fundamental laws of organism, namely, that, in tracing the progressive development of animal life from the simplicity of the zoöphyta to the complexity of structure that appears in the vertebrates, there is constant progress in the degree of differentiation into cephalic, thoracic, and abdominal sections—the first especially concerned in perception and volition, the second in vital movements, and the third in the various phenomena of reproduction; a man, like a bug or a fly, consisting of three sections that may be designated in their order as the cerebral, the vital, and the reproductive. In this special respect the law is invariable that the relative complexity and advance in development of one organism over another are in proportion to the distinctness with which these sections are differentiated. In savage, as compared with cultivated races, it is a universal fact that, as culture progresses, the circumference diminishes at the neck and waist; in other words, that civilization is accompanied by progressive distinctness in the division of the organism into sections. Leaving other considerations out of the question, and attending to the progressive development of the nervous system, in tracing down the orders of the animal kingdom\* from man to the oyster, one nervous centre after another is gradually extinguished, until, in the latter, a very primitive arrangement of three nervous bodies is obtained, the oyster having two anterior, perceptive ganglia connected with nervous cords, and forming a collar around the entrance to the nutritive canal, from which two cords run back and terminate in a vital ganglion that sends nerves to the respiratory and nutritive organs. If, now, the anatomist will take the trouble to

\* The most elaborate *phylum* of the development of the animal kingdom, which the literature of the evolution theory has yet produced, will be found in Professor Ernst Hæcke's *Anthropogenie*. A very excellent condensation of the German professor's *phylum* will be found in Parker's *Manual of Comparative Anatomy*.

follow the development from mollusks to zoöphyta, he may note the gradual disappearance of the vital ganglion, until the primitive nervous collar embracing the throat is all that remains of the complex nervous structure of the higher vertebrates, and there is scarcely any distinction into sections, save that some animalcules, although the microscope can detect no difference in structure between one point and another, always travel with a special portion of the body foremost, and, however they may turn and twist, and elongate and contract, definitely turn round when they are about to retrace or to alter their direction, clearly indicating a primitive but unexplainable tendency of regarding one point rather than any other as the head, if that term may be applied to a globule of what the Germans style primitive slime. But no structural exponent of this tendency can be detected by the most powerful instruments, assisted by the polarizing prism, although, even in its lowest stages, the larva of the insect may be distinguished into cephalic section and a contingent remainder by the greater transparency of the former, and that almost at the beginning, long before the constriction at the neck converts the embryo animal into a minute bottle. The several points that these facts establish by anatomical inference are the following: First, that the human nervous system consists, largely speaking, of three great general centres, one for perception and voluntary motion, one for vital movements, and one for the reproductive processes, but the inference is, that the enlargement of the cord at the lower end, and not the cerebellum, is the proper centre of the latter; second, that the primitive function of nervous tissue is perception and reflex action, as when animals with simply a nervous collar embracing the gullet discriminate between nutritive and other particles, and swallow the one and reject the other by expelling it from the mouth; and third, that all the various and complex functions of nervous tissue in the human body have successively arisen from this one primordial function through a specializing process.

The preceding paragraph seems to lead very far from the

question under consideration, but, in reality, it is essential to a fair understanding of the subject that some of its remoter and more general relations should be pointed out; for, if our physiology of the nervous system is ever to be lifted above the level of a *rudis indigestaque moles* of empirical observations and statements, and to furnish a proper basis for scientific psychology, our professors must adopt a more philosophical method, and connect their statements into coherent series. It should be stated, as to the investigations of Sir Charles Bell, which gave birth to the modern impulse for experimental verification, that he did not underestimate the value of anatomical inference, and was strictly guided by anatomical analogies. Hence the brilliancy of his results and the success of his experiments, which are in such marked contrast with the apparent aimlessness, as if valuable data were to be obtained by indiscriminate mutilation, with which many of his modern disciples—mere empirics—have conducted their investigations, and have sought to compensate for lack of that profound anatomical culture, which was the starting-point of the master, by cutting at random, and recording the random and often contradictory results that follow.

Of course, it is not our intention, in the foregoing strictures, to depreciate the value to science of the investigations of such men as Brown-Séquard and Dalton in America, Vulpian and others in France, and Huxley and Ferrier in England; but, on the other hand, to reprobate the habit, that is now gaining ground among incompetent anatomists, of making experiments and publishing the results, apparently for the mere sake of seeing their names printed in scientific journals, and in the scientific notes of popular periodicals. It is, perhaps, true that, in the hands of a judicious vivisector, experiments may be made to contribute very materially, mainly in the way of verifying anatomical inference, to the higher problems of physiology. The true method here, if such practices are to be employed at all, seems to be to employ them as adjuncts to inference from anatomical work, and not to rely upon them as primary sources of information, since the existing method and the



readiness with which inconsiderate experiments may be carried on have tended to establish too high a degree of reliance on the convulsive, secretive, thermal, and other morbid phenomena that accompany them.

For example, the sensory decussation of the spinal cord rests upon the following experimental data: First, that to cleave the cord in twain down the middle produces complete sensory paralysis of all parts of the body supplied by nerves springing from any point below the section, a fact of which Galen was aware, but which is due, in its modern aspects, to Brown-Séquard; and second, that transverse section of one lateral half of the cord abolishes sensibility below the section in the other half of the body, a point developed by Brown-Séquard in 1849, although unpublished until 1852. Now, while it is true that the minute anatomy of the cord had not been sufficiently investigated when, in 1849, Brown-Séquard repeated the experiments of Galen and Fodera by longitudinal division along the middle fissure, and while it is still true that many points remain to be determined, yet it is obvious that anatomical inference could have accomplished all that experimentation has accomplished, although it is less tedious to experiment than it is to dissect assiduously, prepare sections so as to show the intimate structure, and to demonstrate in that way. It requires a thoroughly scientific treatment of tissues to produce a good transparent section; but almost any man who can handle a knife can experiment in the random manner now so common in our scientific institutions.

One point more, and our discussion passes to a general review of the history of experiment. As to the encephalic and spinal nerves, all that experiment can accomplish may unquestionably be accomplished by careful dissection. The reader is, of course, aware that, if a given nerve can be traced to its distribution on a given muscle, its function as a motor nerve is settled, and that, conversely, if a given nerve can be traced to a given series of sense-buds (*papillæ*), its sensory function is settled. Not only this, but minute study of the distribution is more exact than general experimentation could possibly be.



For illustration: When the physiologist has followed a trunk of the facial nerve consecutively, from its origin to the taste-buds of the tongue, he not only has the evidence that the trunk is a sensory one, but he is in possession of a map of its relations. The first question might have been determined by section of the trunk and consequent paralysis to taste in the living animal; but the minute and lucid conception of the course of the nerve and the manner and area of its distribution, which results from the dissection, could not have resulted from the experiment. So as to any nerve of the cerebro-spinal series. The difficulty that was in the way when Bell and Magendie first commenced to experiment, seemed at that date insuperable. In the first instance, the structure of the nervous system in its natural state is so exceedingly soft and delicate that minute dissection is impracticable; in the second place, the final distribution of any given nerve is so extremely tenuous and intricate that dissection without previous preparation is impossible; finally, the idea of dissecting a whole human body in this minute way is one that appals the anatomist, and leads him instinctively to cast about for some shorter cut to the information required. When Bell and Magendie experimented, in 1830, and before and after, anatomical investigation on the minute scale now so common with histologists was not possible. The microscopes of that day were inefficient and unreliable, and only vague hints and fragmentary data existed to indicate that the instrument would one day put certainty and exactness in place of the speculation and guess-work that rendered the older histologists wholly unreliable. Even Auguste Comte, whose philosophical mind was able to grasp some of the more difficult problems of sociology very successfully, had his sneer at the pretensions of microscopy, and was inclined to think that it would never make any substantial additions to the literature of science; and, when M. Comte, with his penetrative though uncertain intellect, erred so materially and misjudged so absurdly, it is as well not to expect omniscience from the men of science who were prominent in his day. There was this,

then, when Bell initiated the vivisection movement in its modern acceptance, to justify him in relying on his experiments: that in no other way was it practicable to investigate with proximate certainty. It is very different now. With a good microscope, ranging from 50 to 1,000 diameters, and having a movable stage, it is possible to penetrate the very mysteries of nervous tissue after proper preparation, to trace the minute anatomy of those microscopic bodies known as sensory buds, and to unfold in a philosophical manner the whole physical ground-work of sensation and motion, of volition and consciousness. Hence the needlessness of experiments, and their uncertainty as compared with the more natural and philosophical method—such that the eminent anatomist, Todd, long after Bell had published his conclusions, could hold the following language in discussing the function of the posterior cords of the spinal column: “I have long been impressed with the opinion that the office of the posterior columns of the spinal cord is very different from any yet assigned them. They may be in part commissural between the several segments of the cord, uniting and harmonizing them in their various actions, and in part subservient to the function of the cerebellum in regulating and co-ordinating the movements necessary for perfect locomotion.” The truth is, as will be indicated in a future paper, a fundamental misconception as to the development of the nervous system, common to all anatomists since the days of Gall, Spurzheim, and Tiedemann, has prevented progress in the study of function, and vitiated the investigations of some of our ablest minds.

Having thus cleared the way for a correct apprehension of the general relations of the subject, a short *résumé* of the modern vivisection movement is essential to further discussion. It is very well known that the ancients, particularly the Greeks, had, previous to Aristotle, given some attention to experimental data as to the functions of the various bodily organs. Dunglison gives a very succinct digest of what is positively ascertained on this question. Galen had, also, anticipated the recent experiments of Brown-Séguard con-

cerning the physiology of the sensory cords of the spinal column, and, although more celebrated as a philosophical thinker than as an experimentalist, René Descartes probably conducted as many investigations on living animals as any one of our modern vivisectionists has done. In a word, although it has assumed greater prominence than formerly in the literature of science, vivisection has been practised from the earliest ages as an *agendum* in physiology, and few of its so-called modern results are really new. The impulse given by Bell, from which dates the modern movement, was due to the fact that his conclusions were very striking, and brought into view the presumption that a true philosophical physiology could be built up, piece by piece, from experimental data; and, although it is very doubtful whether his more generalizing views have not hindered more than they have assisted progress, Bell unquestionably added largely to the materials for systematic physiology. He was, for example, aware of the very important fact that there is a nervous circuit between the brain and the muscles, and that, while the nerves convey the influence from the brain to the muscle, they also keep the brain advised of the condition of the muscle and of the amount of tension it is at any moment exercising. In other words, muscular contraction is a mixed act of the motor and sensory nerves, not a purely motor one; but it is not so clear, anatomically, whether this sensory function belongs to special nerves, or whether it is a sensory residuum pertaining to the nerves of motion themselves, although many have concluded, rather *à priori* it seems, that the pacinian bodies are true sensory buds, their structure being analogous to that of such buds. The evidences of intimate anatomy, however, favor the opinion that this feeble sensory phenomenon pertains to the motor nerves themselves, in like manner as feeble motor phenomena accompany the intenser forms of sensory action. Bell's predilection for a hard and impassable division between motor and sensory nerves led him to assume the existence of sensory fibres distributed to muscular tissue on a considerable scale—an inference from the phenomena that intimate anatomy by no means justifies.

Contemporary with Bell, Magendie, Legallois, and Flourens, in France, entered with true Gallic enthusiasm into the new movement, and, with truer and more minute analysis, investigated the brain and cord section by section. It must not be forgotten, either, that M. Dupuytren was the first to demonstrate that asphyxia is the cause of death after division of the pneumogastric nerve; nor that Fodéra had, as early as 1822, indicated the decussation of the sensory columns of the cord, and, consequently, the commissural state of the flattened middle portion, which renders the gray matter similar to a ribbon of nervous tissue, very thin in the middle, and considerably swollen at the edges; nor that Pourfour du Petit had already, in 1725, demonstrated that the influence of the sympathetic nerve is propagated upward in the direction of the brain, not downward from it; nor that reflex action of the spinal cord, as partly demonstrated by Marshall Hall in 1832, and fully demonstrated more recently by Brown-Séquard and others, was very accurately described as early as 1812, and had passed into medical literature, and that Hall merely verified the facts, and grouped and classified them in a scientific manner; nor, lastly, that Rolando, of Turin, as early as 1809, had pretty conclusively indicated that the cerebellum is the true co-ordinating centre of the muscles concerned in walking.

The first experiments of Bell consisted in laying open the spinal canal in living rabbits after stunning them, and dividing the posterior roots of the nerves distributed to the hind-legs. The animal was able to crawl after the operation; but, on irritating the posterior roots, no muscular movements were elicited, while, on grasping the anterior roots, each contact with the forceps was followed by a contraction of the muscles supplied by the irritated nerve. Magendie's experiments, similar in their results, and probably prior, were conducted with puppies six weeks old, in which it is easy to cut through the vertebræ longitudinally with a sharp scalpel. He then divided the posterior roots of the nerves distributed to the hind-legs, closing and dressing the incision. In this condition of the animal,

violent pressure, and even pricking with a sharp instrument, awakened no response of the muscles in the limbs supplied by the sected trunks, but the motive power of the animal was comparatively unimpaired. Repetition of the experiments developed the same results. On the other hand, division of the anterior roots immediately extinguished muscular movements, but did not appear to extinguish sensibility in the supplied limb; while division of both roots extinguished both motion and sensation, leaving the limb flaccid and inert. He now gave nux vomica to the animals under experiment, and while it was in violent convulsions, repeated the experiments. Division of the posterior roots did not arrest the spasms, while section of the anterior roots arrested them in the most consecutive manner. On the other hand, as a point bearing upon the question of muscular sensation treated by Bell, irritation of the anterior roots, when connected with the cord, elicited, along with the usual muscular phenomena, some evidences of sensibility, and, conversely, stimuli applied to the posterior roots, as yet undivided, caused slight muscular contractions along with the usual evidences of sensibility. When, again, the galvanic current was applied to either order of roots, muscular contractions followed; but they were very slight when the posterior were stimulated, and very energetic when the anterior were the subjects of experiment. These data confirm the conclusions of anatomy that the motor nerves retain some remnant of sensory function, and the sensory some remnant of motor, notwithstanding the specialization upon which the general distinction between them is based.

Another important inference from Bell's experiments was, that the ultimate filaments of nerves can propagate impressions in one direction only, whence the primary classification of nerves as afferent and efferent, terms very nearly correspondent with sensory and motor. That is to say, an afferent nerve propagates impressions from the periphery toward the central portion of the nervous system, while an efferent nerve propagates from the centre toward the periphery. Here, again, intimate anatomy is more successful

than experiment in determining the physiology of this distinction between sensory and motor. In point of structure, it is now known that nerve-buds, whatever their situation, are properly minute but very complex nervous centres, associated together by means of a plexiform arrangement of filaments, so that the nervous tunic of the human organism may be regarded as a delicate web of enmeshed and interwoven nervous threads, whence, at intervals, spring up minute bodies, abundantly supplied with cell-elements, and therefore capable of originating impressions. The general description of the text-books, which represents the filaments as passing directly from the sensory buds to the central portion of the nervous system, is deficient in accuracy, and conveys an erroneous impression, and it is more correct to consider the nervous webs of the skin and other membranes as sensory surfaces, connected with the central masses by filaments, the impressions of which are, however, associated before leaving the membrane itself. The nervous tunic of the human eye illustrates this principle. Certain cell-elements, furnished with peculiar vibrating prolongations receiving the luminous impression, are connected and associated by an intricate intertexture of filaments, by means of which the separate activities of the myriad cells are associated into a single impression. For instance, in viewing a surface consisting of many colors, the exact limits of each color are determined by the association of the cells into one general centre of impression, and thus it becomes possible to picture in the mind a definite map of the surface itself, where, but for this fact, the impression would be confused and inexact. So, also, the nervous elements of muscular tissue follow the same law of association by meshes, and form a nervous net-work enveloping the contracting body, and sending off minute filaments here and there, that end in the connective-tissue cells of the thin, silken, translucent, investing membrane. Thus, the general association and distribution of motor influence are not at all due to volition, but depend on the organization of the nervous elements appertaining to the muscles themselves; and, to apply these facts to the spe-

cial topic in hand, the primary fact that an afferent filament is in connection with cells at both extremities determines its function as sensory, while a motor nerve, on the other hand, is in connection at only one (the central) extremity with cell-elements of a nervous nature. It will very likely be found, however, that the connective-tissue cells, in which motor filaments terminate, are sufficiently susceptible of impression to explain the mental perception of the condition and tension of the given muscles concerned, which accompanies all voluntary muscular movements, but, in any event, it is the anatomical inference, not the experiment, that furnishes a definite conception of the physiology of motor as distinguished from sensory nerves.

The experiments of Legallois formed the materials for the first remarkable paper in medical literature on the relations of the spinal cord to the vital functions; and, although his main inferences were soon subverted by Dr. Wilson Philip, gave a new impulse to experimental inquiry in this particular direction. The experiments of the latter showed conclusively that the vital movements of the heart are independent of the spinal column, but so dependent on the respiratory movements that suspension of the latter involves suspension of the former. Indeed, as has been since demonstrated, if, after section of the pneumogastric nerve, respiration is maintained artificially, the contractions of the heart continue in the usually regular and rhythmical manner, depending, very likely, for their rhythmical property on nervous elements appertaining to the organ itself, and not on any communication with the spinal column. The special function co-ordinated by the vital centres (medulla oblongata) is thus demonstrated to be the respiratory; and here, again, tracing nervous development from the oyster to the man, anatomical inference would have established the fact independent of experimental data. It should be added that M. Flourens confirmed the conclusions of Dr. Philip soon after their publication. The respiratory tract is well known to anatomists, and has its homologue in the vital or respiratory ganglion of the mollusk, although its limits in the



higher vertebrates are not so definite as they are in lower organisms, and some of the nerves springing from it are by no means exclusively concerned in respiration, while other nerves not springing from it are concerned in the respiratory movements. The lingual nerve, for instance, co-ordinates many movements concerned in respiration; the inferior maxillary is also an *agendum* in that process, and governs the instinctive sucking motion of the lips that is associated with it; the sensitive filaments of the fifth pair co-operate in the act of sneezing, and so on; so that it is more accurate to designate the whole tract as vital and as associating a large series of vital phenomena, of which respiration is the principal.

The first decisive experiments as to the function of the cerebral lobes were instituted by Flourens, by removing it very cautiously in thin, successive slices, and noting the results. The general inference from these experiments, which neglected anatomical boundaries, was that extirpation of the cerebrum induces a state resembling coma, in which the animal appears to be plunged in deep slumber, wholly lost to external impressions and incapable of originating motion. When aliment is placed in its mouth it will swallow; but it will not eat from a dish placed immediately before it. If a cat, treated in this manner, is held by the legs, back downward, and then dropped, it will turn over in the descent and land on its feet; but it will not stir afterward, nor can any menace elicit the slightest symptoms of apprehension. The distinction here indicated is, as in the instance of the frog, that certain classes of instinctive movements have their origin in the spinal cord and in the cerebellum, but that extirpation of the cerebrum abolishes all conscious perception of external relations, and, with it, all movements of the strictly voluntary class. This distinction is a large one, but it is justified equally by anatomical inference and by direct experiment. More than this, as M. Bouillaud was the first to show, excision of the anterior lobes in animals, in which the Sylvian fissure exists, and of the homologous parts in animals in which the fissure is not apparent, eventuates in abolition of all perception of



environing objects and of external relations, although sight and hearing are still intact, as they really are after ablation of the hemispheres.

In another important point M. Bouillaud successfully refuted the conclusions of Flourens, who asserted that the cerebral lobes, as a whole, concur in fully and completely exercising their functions; that, when one of the special senses is lost, all are lost, and when one faculty disappears, all disappear; in short, that a certain portion of the hemispheres may be ablated without impairing any of their functions, but that, when this limit is passed, all voluntary acts and all perceptions simultaneously perish. Magendie's curious experiments on the striated bodies and posterior ganglia of rabbits must be omitted here, although very interesting in themselves, because, albeit they have been often verified and repeated, the phenomena connected with them, unless referable to vertigo, are not, in the present state of our information, susceptible of rational explanation. The fact, however, that on removal of both striated bodies the animal ran violently forward, deviating neither to the right nor to the left, and striking against any object in its way, taken in connection with the fact that removal of the cerebellum is followed by a tendency to walk backward, or, in ducks, as M. Fodéra states, to swim backward, points to a certain concurrence of the contents of the skull, as a whole, in locomotion, which it may be well for physiologists to consider, while agreeing that the cerebellum specially co-ordinates the muscles concerned in this function. Indeed, from anatomical inference, there is no doubt that the special senses, sight and hearing in particular, have a definite influence over the movements concerned in walking, and contribute to their regulation. Hence, division of the semi-circular canals in the ears of birds, as practiced by Magendie, is followed by phenomena in every way analogous to those resulting from section of the cords of the cerebellum or ablation of the striated bodies. The mutuality that exists between sensation and motion is a subject that has received too little attention, as yet, to admit of intelligent discussion; but

what is known of the nature of reflex action points to the view that the deepest and most fundamental properties of nervous tissue are involved in the correlation that subsists between motion and sensation, and *vice versa*, and that no coherent physiology of the nervous system can be ventured upon until this mystery has been penetrated.

It has been our intention in this paper, while exposing the cruelties of vivisection, to point out the fact that it cannot be candidly put forward as having added materially to physiology. It seems evident, on a careful but condensed survey of the facts in all their various relations, that it has done little more than to verify anatomical inferences, and that, in whatsoever it has been temporarily in conflict with them, it has been finally conceded that the inference was correct and the experiment imperfectly conducted. The question is primarily, of course, a question of methods of investigation. In anatomical inference the function is inferred from the anatomical relations of the ganglion or nerve, and it is presumed that the function was built up in the development of the nervous system, and even modified materially, by the internal and external conditions under which the given organism has for ages existed. Though indirect, this method is susceptible of the fullest scientific certainty, and participates in the philosophical. In vivisection, on the other, the processes and the data are purely empirical, in addition to the fact that it can seldom be positively ascertained whether the resultant phenomena are due to the section of a nerve or the excision of a ganglion, in a direct manner, or whether they are consequences of the general sympathy of the nervous system with the lesion, and therefore sympathetic actions. Of course, anaesthesia has partly corrected this defect, but not with due certainty. In any event, they are pathological phenomena that may serve to verify, but should not be substituted for, the inferences of anatomical investigation; and, if any limitation of the practices of experimentalists can be suggested, that will not interfere with the proper interests of physiological science, or if our present discussion shall result in directing

attention anew to the now comparatively neglected field of anatomical investigation, it will have done its work and assisted progress toward more philosophical conception of life in all its various relations.

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ART. IV.—*United States School and College Directory for 1875, containing a Complete List of Schools and Colleges, and Descriptions of First-Class Educational Institutions, and much other Valuable Information.* 8vo. pp. 176. New York: T. Cotesworth Pinckney.

WE had intended giving our impressions in our present number of some three or four colleges and universities which we took the trouble of visiting last spring. But, as the time for performing the task approached, it seemed more and more disagreeable, seeing that, without stultifying ourselves, or doing great violence to our conscience, we really could not speak in the language of approbation of any one of the series.

We had often heard of "Western" seats of learning, but never hitherto had seen them at their work. We can truly say that, much as we had heard of them that was unfavorable—even ludicrous—we were not prepared for so sad a state of things as we witnessed even at the most respectable of the institutions alluded to. By this, however, we do not mean but there are good colleges and universities in the West, although, judging from the specimens we have seen, they must be exceedingly few: more like angels' visits, or *rareæ aves*, than any other class of public institutions we know.

But "Western" being an indefinite term, it is proper to explain that we include in that category all the institutions of both western New York and western Pennsylvania, which we have thus far seen, with the sole exception of Syracuse University, which rivals in excellence, in every essential respect, the very best of our Eastern institutions. We shall now be the better understood when we say that we prefer to postpone our criticisms until we can make some contrasts; until

we can offset the merits of one against the demerits of another.

The truth is, in a word, that we have not the heart to make such strictures on four or five institutions in succession, in one article, as we sincerely feel they deserve, without being able to relieve the monotony of censure after censure to the end of the chapter, by presenting, in turn, a pleasant or encouraging picture. And even were it otherwise—were our disposition that of Diogenes rather than that of Democritus (the laughing philosopher)—we should shrink from inflicting on our readers so lugubrious a performance. Since an affair has fallen into our hands that is comparatively suitable for the present range of the thermometer, we are all the more willing to alter our resolution for the present. But, in order that such classical students as are of a curious turn may not feel entirely disappointed on account of the intimation we gave in our last number, we transcribe at the bottom of the page a copy of a Latin letter which we wrote and sent some two months ago, as in another memorable case, and which, to the initiated, tells its own story.\* It is almost superfluous to add that, as in

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\* "Kal. III. Jul., MDCCCLXXV.

"Rev. E. D. Grui, Professori Rhetoricæ, Sal.

"Mi care Domine:

"Gratias tibi pro literis tuis ago. Veniam autem moræ meæ, in respondente, fac si placet. Valde consideratum et humanum in parte Dr. Ligni, docti atque digni Cancellarii tui, sit te mandare literas mihi mittere, causa honoris, cum ipse versatus est tam multum, quam me facis certiores, in officiis Universitatis. Hoc me monet quam gratus sentiores pro longis horis inter quas mihi concedebat oblectationem societatis ejus apud Hospitium, me delectans sic præclarè, sed præcipuè dum simul cœnabamus, de vanitate atque ignorantia capitum institutionum vicinitate.

"Spero, summissè, ut me facias veniam si sæpe cogitaverim ex quo tempore habebam juncunditatem te ipsum et Ligneum Cancellarium videndi si me dedissetis tam multum cognitionis de Universitate Occidentale Pennsylvaniae quam uterque dedit de Universitate Washingtoniensisque Jeffersoniensis atque de Collegio Muliebri Pittsburgensis, aut potius de capitibus eorum, bene institutus in ratione Universitatis tuæ, essem.

"Heu infelix Præses Hays! et infelicior Præses Pershing! Quam

the same famous case, our Latin letter remains, and doubtless ever will remain, unanswered.

We now proceed to our main task, and think that, if the reader will only have patience while detained in the vestibule, he may calculate on a little amusement.

The present age will be known in history as the age of brass, or the age of puffery. Our posterity of five or six generations hence will, it is to be hoped, find it difficult to believe that a work like that whose title stands at the head of this article could have been published, even in the *commercial* metropolis of the great Republic, within the last half of the nineteenth century. Not but we have seen many publications much more discreditable to their compilers or authors; that is, publications which, while they claim to instruct even the most enlightened part of the public, are replete with evidence that those who get them up are sadly lacking in the very rudiments of knowledge.

Our object, therefore, in taking up the work before us, is not merely to criticise the compiler. We have not the least

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ridiculus, tamen quam foedus tu ipse et ligneus cancellarius tuus utrumque, invicem, facerent. Dolet me nihilominus dicere ut antequam ambobus digressus sum in mentem meam veniebat, plus quam semel, quod si hi singuli de quibus mentionem fecistis sint ridiculiores aut plus inopes disciplinae ethicae quam vos ipsi opus est, utique, ut doctores juventutis digni magnae fidei sitis!

“Volens autem justum esse, conatus sum computare quantum sordis atque ignorantiae quas videbam apud Universitatem Occidentalem Pennsylvaniae attributum esset ad caliginem et fumum in quibus amicti constanter sitis. Problema admodum difficile resolutionis invenio. Fortasse Dr. Pershing, aut Dr. Hays, aut ambo ad auxilium meum cum paucis admonitionibus veniant. Possum, interea, solum dicere ut institutionum omnium quae habent nomen Universitatis quas vidi semper, Universitas Occidentalis Pennsylvaniae sit illa quae verba sequentia Quintiliani gravissimè illustrat: ‘Nihil enim pejus est iis qui, paulum aliquid ultra primas literas progressi, *falsam* sibi scientiae persuasionem induerunt.’

“Vale mi care Grus; etiam vale mi carior Ligne, et dic si posses ‘*mendacem odi.*’

“Sum semper amicus verus tuus,

“EDVARDUS I. SEARS.”

disposition to say a harsh word of him ; still less do we wish to do him any injury. Accordingly, had the publication been devoted to any other subject than that of education, we should not have deemed it worth while to say one word about it. As it is, we invite attention to its character ; but not because it has defects—not because any thing it contains which may be called “ original ” is an outrage on the English language, and, in general, equally an outrage on common-sense, not to mention truth, which everywhere in its pages is put to the blush. All this would, indeed, have been bad enough in any case ; but who that has any intelligence, or sense of propriety, would believe, without ocular proof, that such a publication could be the chosen organ, not only of our “ fashionable ” academies, seminaries, and institutes, but also of the most pretentious of our colleges and universities ? Nevertheless, so undeniable and obvious is the fact, that some excellent educators, but chiefly the heads of ladies’ schools, find themselves obliged to go with the crowd, and submit their heads, with as good a grace as they can, to the plasterer’s brush. To this, however, we are glad to add that, with not more than one or two exceptions, our really first-class institutions have, at least thus far, kept aloof. This we shall take pleasure in showing as we proceed. It is almost superfluous to say that the institutions of the opposite class muster in full force. We cannot recall a single one of the Dotheboys Hall species which does not occupy a full page, while its head is duly certified to surpass all others in learning and genius !

None, we trust, will suppose that we are opposed to the publication of a School and College Directory, properly so called. On the contrary, we would do all in our power to encourage any one undertaking such a work in good faith, because there could be no question of its utility. But that before us is a different affair. What is styled the “ General Directory ” occupies about one-third of the whole. Most of this is copied—evidently without much care—from obsolete publications. It were a miracle, therefore, if it did not contain many errors. It would have been otherwise had it been

the real object of the publisher to furnish the public a correct Directory. But, even as it is, that department is useful.

It sometimes happens in our city business directories that persons years dead are given as the heads of mercantile firms. Mistakes, sometimes serious and sometimes ludicrous, are thus caused; but, notwithstanding the worst of those mistakes, no business man will deny that the directory is useful. But, supposing that Mr. Trow, instead of giving the names and addresses of our business men of all grades, would proceed to represent the meanest of his friends as superior to all others, and for no better reason than that they are his friends? Let us suppose that he represents the Chatham Street clothing establishments as, at least, equal to those of Broadway; that, in his estimates of the dry-goods establishments, he assigns the highest rank to those of the Bowery; and that, because somebody in the Sixth Ward has done the handsome thing, he declares that region the most attractive, the most enlightened, the most refined and "high-toned" in New York or elsewhere! Did he pursue this course, is it likely that any of our Broadway merchant princes, or any of our merchants anywhere that have a reputation to lose, would employ him to recommend them to the public, side by side with the enterprising geniuses of Chatham Street and the Bowery? It will be admitted that they would be still more unlikely, if possible, to have recourse to such means to procure customers for their goods, if the recommendations offered to them were in bad English.

But, that the heads of our numerous institutions of learning have no such delicate stomach, we have abundant evidence in the work before us. We have remarked that the "Directory" proper occupies about one-third of the book; the remaining two-thirds are filled with the fair speeches, fine promises, recommendations, etc. No institution has a single fault. The buildings, the "locations," the neighboring towns and villages, the lakes and rivers—even the creeks and ponds—all are perfect! As for the teachers, or the "educationists," as they are generally styled, there is no sort of knowl-



edge, human or divine, in which they are not adepts; they are equally unfathomable in ancient and modern lore; and it is all the same to them whether the happy student committed to their charge is to be instructed chiefly in the languages or in the sciences, not to mention such minor things as literature, composition, orthography, etc., etc.

In short, it would have puzzled the best humorists of *Punch*, in the palmiest days of that journal, to burlesque the educational institutions of America more amusingly than the thing is done in the "United States School and College Directory for 1875." We readily admit that nothing like burlesque is intended. Hervey, in his "Meditations among the Tombs," is scarcely graver than the compiler of the work under consideration, for he speaks everywhere as of the dead, of whom, according to Solon, nothing should be said but in their praise.\*

But this is the phenomenon which we have always regarded as so remarkable; it is the *raison d'être* of the present article. The same morbid love for the most fulsome eulogy and clap-trap, and the same intolerance of any thing which is not eulogy, are made particularly manifest to the world during the "Commencement" season. It matters not who bespatters our institutions with praise; whether the coveted unction is thrown on with the trowel or the brush seems all the same—it is the *quantity*, and not the quality, that is so greedily sought. Everybody capable of judging is aware that, although the reporters for the daily press are a useful and intelligent body of men—a class among whom are occasionally found men of education as well as talent—in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they are utterly incompetent to form any proper estimate of the character of an educational institution. The few that are competent are not long reporters, for they can easily find more appropriate use for their pens. Yet the praises of the reporters at Commencement time—the eulogies they bestow on professors and students for their profound knowledge—are treasured up in large bundles, like priceless heir-looms, to be

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\* De mortuis nil nisi bonum.



distributed, from time to time, for the rest of the year, to the faithful, as evidence that knowledge will die with the learned Faculty of whom such fine things have been said, printed, and published.

But the reporters have several characteristics which distinguish them from the compiler of the work before us. Generally, if not invariably, they evince some knowledge of the structure of the language in which they write; at least, they do not display their ignorance of the rudiments of grammar in every paragraph, nay, almost every sentence, as our "educational" compiler does. But it seems that, just in proportion as the latter proves himself more incompetent than the former to form, or express, any opinion whatever on an educational subject, above A B C, are his "recommendations" more valuable than theirs in the estimation of those who claim to surpass all others as educators.

We are quite aware how incredible all this must seem to those of our readers who, for one reason or another, have not devoted sufficient attention to the subject. But, if we do not prove the justice of our views to the satisfaction of every intelligent, impartial mind, let us stand condemned, not only of exaggeration, but also of misrepresentation. It will take us about half an hour to perform the operation, but we think that those who give us their attention during that time will not be disappointed.

The reader is already aware that the "Directory," pure and simple, occupies about one-third of the book. Then we have the "fair speeches and fine promises" to the extent of eighty-one closely-printed pages. We now come to the "Descriptive Department," which casts any thing of the kind we have ever seen, in Europe or America, far into the shade. But it has one feature which, so far as we are aware, is a decided novelty. We allude to the plan of first delivering a eulogy on the city, town, village, or hamlet, which is so fortunate as to have such an institution as that about to be "described" within its precincts, or in its suburbs. Every place, large or small, having this advantage, is peerless; compared

to it, Puck's Paradise is tame and vulgar; and one is reminded at almost every page of Puck's experience:

"There were Heads of Colleges *lying about*  
From which *the sense had all run out.*"

But, be it remembered, that all "notices" of schools, colleges, universities, etc., in the "Descriptive Department" close like the refrain of a song, referring for "full particulars" to the advertisement. But there is a much closer relation than this between the prospectuses and the eulogies. In the majority of cases there is something more than a family resemblance between the phraseology and grammar of the latter and those of the former, as we shall take occasion to show before we close.

Nothing occurs in the ordinary way in the "Descriptive Department." Every thing, whether it be the product of nature or art, is "located;" and where it is to be found is its "location." For instance, take Paterson, N. J., the first we happen to see. Because there is here the "Tallman Seminary," the fame of which is doubtless known to all our readers, we are treated to a full description. "Here," we are told, "*is located Passaic Falls.*" Again: "An excellent select school is *located* here." This, however, is not all. We are informed that "its easy means of access *and desirable* surroundings *make particularly* an excellent location" (p. 157). The various other attractions of the place are far too numerous for us to mention.

Happening to turn to Tarrytown, we learn that several remarkable things are "located" there. Instance: "Here is *located* the old Dutch Church," etc. Our author closes his description of Tarrytown thus: "Few better *locations* for select schools can be *found*, and *several may be found*, of which mention is made below" (p. 166). Need we say that Miss Edgeworth has no more curious specimen than this in her "Essay on Bulls." Five Tarrytown "locations" (schools) are duly described; but they are all alike in their wonderful perfection.

The Jackson Military Institute, besides being "*thorough*

and *complete*," has "*first-class testimonials*." Of the Home Institute, we are informed: "Buildings eligibly *located and with* secluded grounds." At Miss Bulkley's Seminary, a "*thorough* course of study *provided*." It is needless for us to make any comment on the "perfection" of the Tarrytown institutions.

Turning to the city of New York, we learn from the "description" that it ranks in the educational world about the same as Tarrytown, Paterson, and numerous other places. First, we are enlightened as to its "*geographical location*." Regarding our great schools, we have the following valuable information: "They are accessible from any part of the city by street-cars or stage. Those *in our advertising columns* are mostly *located* in the upper part of the city, *contiguous* to its *many* public parks, and in healthful neighborhoods." Then, "*several of the most excellent*" are "described." There are some of those unrivalled institutions which have been "located" in almost every "neighborhood," and have everywhere left behind them striking illustrations of their peculiar system of political economy—supposed to have been invented by the Arabs of the time of Mohammed.

Referring to migratory affairs reminds us that we may be permitted to be a little irregular in our movements on the present occasion. Accordingly, we proceed at once to our author's description of Claverack, N. Y. Of course, it is a wonderful place. We are informed that it "has many advantages *making* it a *desirable location*." "The Hudson River Institute (Claverack College), *located* here, has *made* it *celebrated* in *every State*." This, however, is not enough; we are further told that it "is *located* in the best district in the village," and that "the College is *noted* for *the excellence* (*sic*) of its *tuition*, *scholars* (*sic*) *having attended* from all *parts*" (p. 158). Who will send to Oxford, Cambridge, Heidelberg, or Berlin, after this?

Because two such great educators as the heads of St. Agnes School and Folsom's Business College, have suitably evinced their appreciation of niches in the great educational pantheon,

we are treated to a full description of Albany, and duly informed of the various great and good things "*located*" there. It is satisfactory to know that "the Rt. Rev. Wm. Croswell Doane, S. F. D., is President of the Board of Trustees, and has charge of English Literature." But, let us ask in passing, what of the learned and pious educator, "formerly of Oxford," employed to give the young ladies the finishing touches to qualify them for Oxford diplomas? Is it because he mistook the wife of somebody else for his own in his hurry coming away that his name is suppressed?

We may seem ill-natured in alluding again, even thus incidentally, to some of the peculiar means adopted by Bishop Doane for securing to the young ladies committed to his charge a loftier moral and religious tone than is to be found in less favored institutions. But should such be kept a secret from the fathers and mothers of the country? Far from us be the hypocrisy of pretending to be immaculate either in morality or religion; nevertheless, we have always thought that men, chosen by bishops to teach young ladies, ought at least not to be such as have had their reputation, whether justly or unjustly, sullied by scandal. Be this as it may, we hope the bishop will profit by the handsome certificate he has received in the "Descriptive Department" of the United States School and College Directory, and that he has not "paid too much for his whistle."

It seems that, at Auburn, N. Y., there is a Young Ladies' Institute kept by a distinguished member of the Browne family who wishes to figure at full length in the "Directory." To this interesting fact we are indebted for a full description—though not exactly in Goldsmith's style—of Auburn. The various excellent things "*located*" there are too numerous to mention. Thus, for example: "Several newspapers are published here, *and all banking facilities that may be desired*" (p. 158). That is, "banking facilities" as well as newspapers are published there. But, like so many other places, its main feature is the following: "An *excellent city* as an educa-

*tional centre.*" Of course, "the instruction is thorough," and "the charges are moderate."

When it comes to the turn of Hamilton College to get its share of the precious unction, the artist is evidently in an exhausted condition; his vocabulary has run short; perhaps he is puzzled because the head of the latter institution is also a member of the Brown family. Not but Clinton, N. Y., is "described" as a great place—one that "has long been *celebrated* as an *educational town*." In short, the careful reader will receive the impression that Hamilton College is quite equal to Claverack College, and that the Rev. Samuel Gilman Brown, D. D., LL. D., is equal, as an educator, to the Rev. Alonzo Flack, D. D., Ph. D. Nor can it be denied that there are certain resemblances which are very striking. The following sample of the claims of President Brown, as set forth in the "Directory" under his own name, may, we think, be offset with any similar claim of President Flack:

"This *long and well* established College is still increasing its facilities for the *improvement of those wishing to complete their education* under the guidance of the *well-known members of its Faculty*."

That is, students may do very well at other institutions, but if they want to receive the finishing strokes, they must go to Hamilton! We, who have witnessed the *modi operandi* of both institutions, may be permitted to think that President Flack is entitled to some credit, at least, on the score of frankness. Instance his proclaiming, so naively, in the work before us, the peculiar merits of the department of his institution known as "Claverack Commercial College and *School of Trade*." We may be entirely mistaken, but it strikes us that there is a department at Hamilton, also, which, without any violence to language, or political economy, might be called the "School of Trade." We are quite aware that, in speaking thus of such eminent divines and scholars as Drs. Brown and Flack, we lay ourselves open to the charge of presumption, and, perhaps, impiety; but we merely express our opinion in all humility—in a spirit somewhat like that of Molière's Cléante:

"Je ne suis point, mon frère, un *docteur révééré*,  
 Et le savoir chez moi n'est point tout retiré.  
 Mais en un mot, je sais, pour toute ma science,  
 Du faux avec le vrai faire la *différence*." \*

Williamstown, Mass., is nearly as great a place as Pater-son, N. J., for in the former is Williams College, and the right thing has been done by "P. A. Chadburne, A. M., President, *with an unexceptional (sic) faculty*." We are informed that, "located as it is among the Berkshire Hills, *with their pure air, with its health-giving vitality*, it is not to be wondered at," etc. A place that can boast such a "faculty" and such "vitality" is not often found; accordingly, we are informed that "parents *should make inquiries* in reference to Williams before sending their sons elsewhere" (p. 155). We confess that, after this, we shall think that "parents should make inquiries" before sending to Williams.

A still finer place, if possible, is Stamford, Conn. Its attractions are great and various, although most of them are new to us. The following, however, is no novelty: "A village well adapted for *an* educational institution, *of which* there are *several first-class*" (p. 151). This is a new illustration of the principle *pluribus in unum*! but it is by no means the only one of its kind, as we may take occasion to show. For the present, it is more to the point to ask, Who has not heard of the renowned "Stamford Military Institute?" And scarcely less famous is Betts' Military Academy in the same favored place; not to mention Gothic Hall, in which "the course of study is thorough," but "*special attention* to elementary branches." This is something like making a virtue of necessity.

We are here reminded of Hagerstown, Md., which is "one of the *loveliest*." We are informed that it "is an *excellent town* for a select school, *one of which (sic)* is to be found here." It seems Jamaica, L. I., is very similar, for we are informed that the latter "is a well-adapted and desirable location for a boarding-school, the *principal one of which (sic)* is mentioned below, *being* one of the oldest in the State,

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\* *Le Tarluffe, ou l'Imposteur*, Acte 1, Scene vi.

and one which has *always* sustained its *time-honored reputation*" (p. 161). What a wonderful seminary! It was "time-honored" even in its infancy. Flushing, N. Y., is another member of the same "happy family," for it has within its "surroundings" the famous Magregor Hall, which has "an efficient faculty." "The school has been in successful operation for nine years, and has fully sustained its *early* reputation (!)." Peekskill Military Academy is still more "time-honored," for we are informed that it "is now in the thirty-eighth year of its *existence as a first-class school*." The fame of the chieftain at its head is co-extensive with this continent, and he is equally renowned for his profound and multifarious learning, and his daring exploits as a warrior.

Every city, or village, that evinces due appreciation of the educational Walhalla, is set down as "a great centre of education," "it has long been celebrated," etc. Thus, for example, we are informed that this and a great deal more of the same sort are true of Baltimore. It is not better, however, it seems, than Hagerstown, in the same State. But more illustrious than either, if possible, is Chester, Pa., which, we are told, "is *celebrated* as the seat of the Pennsylvania Military Academy, a *thorough school*" (p. 167). But this is not all; the world is assured that "no pains are spared to teach the cadet to *think* and to *impart* (*sic*) habits of reflection." As for teaching cadets what one has never learned himself, and "*imparting*" to them what one never possessed—these, it seems, are among the simplest processes. Pottstown, Pa., is also a capital "centre." "A very desirable place for a select school, *of which two* excellent may be *found* here" (p. 169). Let every careful father and mother take note that Pottstown "is *pervaded by an air of social gentility*" (*ib.*). Wilmington, Del., the highly-favored seat of the Wesleyan Female College, is unsurpassed in various respects, yet we cannot but feel for its alumnae, who, we are informed, "*may be found scattered throughout the United States*" (p. 152).

Everybody knows how famous Philadelphia is for its colleges, universities, etc. Five of its "*first class educational*



*institutions*" receive appropriate niches in the Pantheon. We are bound to believe that each is perfect, although we are ashamed to own that we had never before heard of any of the five.

It occurs to us here as somewhat odd that there is no word of Boston. Alas! has the modern Athens of former times lost cast? We remember the time when it used to be called an "educational centre." Some used to regard it as even "celebrated." But, now, not only Philadelphia and Paterson, Albany and Auburn, but also Pottstown, Hagerstown, Flushing, etc., rank far before it; for not one Boston institution is honored with a word in the "Descriptive Department." In short, the capital of New England is entirely ignored. It used to be supposed that there was no school for young ladies in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or New Jersey, which was superior to the representative school of Boston, namely, the Gannett Institute. But it seems it was all a mistake; the Chester Square institution was but a myth. At all events, according to our educational guide, there are better schools now everywhere—better at Tarrytown, better at Jamaica, better at Stamford, etc. But let us pause for a moment. Examining the long array of prospectuses, we find that not one of the heads of the Boston institutions has imitated those of the wiser and more learned heads of those immortalized, as we have shown.

It is true that the present head of Harvard makes his appearance as a prominent patron, decorated with all his degrees and titles. But the well-known infirmity of Dr. Elliot will fully account for this. His predecessors had secured an honorable fame for Harvard, but so modest is he that his highest aim seems to be *notoriety*. Although his distinction as an educator is purely *ex-officio*—the gift of partial, if not altogether disinterested, friends—he can have no more appropriate motto than the line of Corneille:

"Je ne dois qu'à moi seul toute ma renommée."

Turning over a dozen pages or so, our eye is attracted by

the "description" of Sing Sing, N. Y. It is almost needless to say that we find it a wonderful place. We are informed that, "The *altitude* of the land and the *salubrity* of air has given Sing Sing the *reputation* of healthfulness;" that "Sing Sing has *long been celebrated*," etc.; and that Mt. Pleasant Military Academy is "*located in a substantial stone and brick structure*," etc. (p. 165). Moreover, the institution is "surrounded by an *extensive campus* and gardens." What the "campus" is, we can only guess. The ancient Romans had two *campi*—the *Campus Martius* and the *Campus Sceleratus*. The former was an extensive plain *without* the walls, where the levies of troops were made by the Tribunes, etc.; the latter was a much smaller place *within* the walls, where the Vestal Virgins who had broken their vows were *entombed alive*. Now, after which of these is the Sing Sing "campus" called? As we know the head of the institution to be a humane gentleman, who would have nothing to do with the entombing of vestals, or non-vestals, dead or alive, we will take it for granted that what is meant is the renowned "Field of Mars." We are glad to see that the Holbrook Military School, also at Sing Sing, has escaped the heavier touches of the "descriptive" brush. We think we see internal evidence in the "description" that Dr. Holbrook, like other good educators whom we shall have to mention as "taken in" when off their guard, begged to be spared—that there be no daubing in his case. But, as evidently the reverse is true of the head of the far-famed Yonkers Military Institute; for we are informed among other curious things that "The city (Yonkers), is *in every respect* a wealthy, populous, and refined community" (p. 164), that is, it is in every respect wealthy, in every respect *populous*, and in every respect refined! Need we say that the compliment to Yonkers is "in every respect" equivocal?

Turning to the description of Locust Hill Seminary, also at Yonkers, we are reminded of an anecdote of Queen Elizabeth. Once her majesty had occasion to visit Falkenstone. The inhabitants, wishing to impress her favorably, employed the parish

clerk to versify their address. The mayor, being duly introduced as their representative, mounted a three-legged stool, and with great gravity commenced to read thus :

"O mighty Queene,  
Welcome to Falkensteene!—"

To the dismay of the poor mayor, Elizabeth burst out in a roar of laughter, and, without giving his worship time to resume the fine performance, replied :

"You great fool  
Get off that stool."

We are sure that Miss Rice has spoken more politely than Elizabeth, but, whatever language the lady used, we are glad to say that it has had the effect of warding off the rougher touches. The same might be said of some three or four other institutions, male and female, which are well known to our readers as having no need for daubing with either trowel or brush.

But, with the few exceptions, to which we have alluded more than once in this article, the institutions that figure in the "Descriptive Department" are, indeed, in need of some sort of "wash," whether white or black, if there be any virtue in it. Certainly, nineteen out of every twenty require a pretty thick coat; and, of those which need neither white-wash nor tinsel, nine out of every ten are conspicuous in the "Descriptive Department," and that to which it is constantly referring, only for their absence. In proof of this, let us first turn to the schools and institutes. Thus, for example, the superior excellence of the Selleck School, at Norwalk, Conn., is acknowledged by every competent, impartial judge, wherever it is known. But not a word about it in the "Descriptive Department." *Per contra*, another Norwalk school is certified "unsurpassed," with the usual refrain, "see, for particulars, etc." For the sake of the latter, the "location" is enlogized through all the moods and tenses. We quote one sentence as a specimen, only asking the reader to admire the grammar of it: "Norwalk, *not only being* a thriving and prosperous

manufacturing village, is also a quiet, retired, country town, combining all advantages, *as a location*, for a select school" (p. 158). We readily admit that Norwalk is a beautiful and attractive village; nor do we know any place better adapted, in all essential respects, for an educational institution. What we object to is, not praising Norwalk, but doing so to the prejudice of our mother tongue, and at the same time entirely ignoring a School which, confessedly, has no superior in New England.

According to the same plan, while Claverack College, on the Hudson, is declared "celebrated," "noted," etc., for every thing great and good, the world is left to infer that Fort Edward, also on the Hudson, has passed out of existence, or, at least, that it is but a mole-hill, in knowledge, compared to the great Claverack mountain, which is constantly in labor, but scarcely ever brings to a happy birth even a mouse; whereas, the simple truth is that Fort Edward is as much superior to Claverack as Hippocrates was to Sangrado.

Madison University, and its Academy, have very handsome niches in the "Directory." In each, James B. Colgate, Esq., the well-known soap manufacturer, occupies a prominent position. He takes the lead even of the Rev. Ebenezer Dodge, D. D., LL. D., President of the University. Finally, the following comprehensive certificate is given: "*The Faculty and educational advantages of Madison will compare favorably with any, or all, of our first-class colleges.*" This recalls the axiom in Euclid: "*Things that are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.*" But will the Rev. Dr. Dodge be satisfied? May he not grumble that some important omissions have been made? Be it remembered that the prospectuses of the University and its Academy fill two pages, illustrated with cuts. There is a great deal of small type—many "peculiar features"—in these two pages, and the Rev. Dr. Dodge will suffer no dodging as to the amount of praise to which he thinks he is entitled. Although what we have quoted ought to be unctious enough for any ordinary educational stomach, yet we should not be at all surprised to hear

that the "Directory" man has been notified that he has not said half enough, and, therefore, that the University must withdraw its patronage! We know how incredible this must seem. There was a time—and not many years ago—when we also regarded such things as impossible; but we have learned from experience that there is but too much truth in old Plantus's estimate of a certain class of minds: "While they are expecting a favor," he says, "they are *very gracious*; but when they have once got it, from being gracious they become *surly*, and *ready to take every advantage*."\*

We have already seen what noble seats of learning Stamford Military Institute, and Betts' Military Academy, are; but our faithful guide has not told us one word about the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, in the same State. It is in vain that the latter has well earned the reputation of occupying the first rank among the colleges and universities of New England. In Pennsylvania, we see the same plan carried out *ad nauseam*. Pottstown, Chester, Downingtown, are all the seats of "celebrated" institutions; but by far the best college in the State—one that ranks with the best in America—namely, Lafayette, at Easton, is entirely ignored in the "United States School and College Directory."

We read of unrivalled institutions in Maryland—at Hagerstown, Jessup's Station, etc. We are informed that, at Elicott City there is a wonderful school, where "the personal supervision of instructors secure a degree of thoroughness not attained in larger institutions." That which is thus distinguished is St. Clement's Hall, an institute for boys. For the sake of this, we have the usual fine description of the "location," and we are informed that "a select social influence pervades the inhabitants" (!). But not a word does our School and College Guide tell us about Rock Hill College, which is "located" in the same place, and which, as

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\* Quod sibi volunt,

Dum id impetrant, *boni sunt*; sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,  
*Ex bonis pessimi et fraudulentissimi*  
 Sunt.

Capt., 2, 1, 35.

most of our readers are aware, ranks among the most efficient and faithful colleges in the United States.\*

We will now glance for a moment at the eulogies which our great educators make upon themselves, and at the grounds upon which they claim to excel all others, asking the curious reader to notice the resemblance between their phraseology and grammar and those of their puffer and guide. Commencing at New York, we are informed that the claims of Prof. Macmullen to superiority are, "*having passed more than two years in Europe*, and having taught for many years

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\* We have often remarked, in our educational discussions, that there is no reason why any one who really understands the Latin language should not be able to express his ideas in it tolerably well, not only with the pen, but also with the tongue. We have always held that every college professor of Latin should be capable, at least, of writing a decent Latin letter. It was no surprise to us, therefore, to receive such a letter, well written, from the Latin professor at Rock Hill, shortly after the publication of our last number. As it may interest the classical student to see it, we transcribe it here, and subjoin our reply:

"Eruditissimo et valde dilecto,

"Amico meo, Dr. Sears, LL.D.,

"Novo Eboracensi.

"Chare Amice:

"Quam multas gratias reddere tibi debeo, et in quam paucissimis verbis necesse est ut te nunc alloquar. Hodie ex Virginia redeor, et paucis ante momentis, mihi Rector Reverendus, Frater noster charissimus Bettelin, librum tuum tremestrem dedit. Cum opusculo tuo omnes valde delectamur, et pro iis qua de me et de filio meo scripsisti quam multas in corde meo gratias habeo reconditas.

"Mense Augusti exeunte te spero videre, et tunc in propria personâ exprimere coner quæ nunc scribere non possum.

"Grato et amantissimo,

"H. C. McLAUGHLIN.

"Dabam apud Collegium Saxicollense,

"Quarto Kalendas Augusti, MDCCCLXXV."

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"Pridie Kal. Jul., MDCCCLXXV.

"H. C. McLaughlin, Professori Doctissimo, etc.

"Mi care Domine:

"Quando literæ tuæ adveniebant ad mensam meam in rure eram. Meo reditu festino pro iis gratias tibi agere.

"Sententiam præclaram Collegi tui profecto formabam atque etiam

in *his native city of New York*" (p. 92). If "passing" more than two years in Europe be evidence of excellence as a teacher, how excellent must be the qualifications of our hod-carriers, rag-pickers, etc.! True, the latter did not go thither, nor were they there for "pass time."

Prof. Browne, of the great Institute at Auburn, proclaims to all whom it may concern, that the distinguishing feature of his institution is "to meet the wants of parents who prefer to educate their daughters *abroad*" (p. 1). Those wishing to go "abroad" may henceforth go to Auburn! We trust it is not our fault if this, in connection with certain other things, reminds us of that part of the song of old Puck, in which the following lines occur:

"My skill as a linguist all must know  
Who met me *abroad* some time ago;  
And heard me *ABROAD* exceedingly, too,  
In the moods and tenses of *parlez-vous*."

Passing from Auburn we come to Albany, where the Rt. Rev. Bishop Doane proclaims that one of the chief features of his plan is "to mould their (the young ladies') *manners* by the *shamefacedness* and sobriety," etc. (p. 109). Be it remembered that "*shamefacedness*" means "*excess* of modesty," what the French call "*mauvaise honte*," or "*gaucherie*." Need we say that it is not culture, but lack of culture, that

formulæ doctrinæ tuæ. Præterea admodum oblectus sum de situ amœno ejus; et mea optatio vera erat bonis Fratribus placere, præcipuè meo caro atque insigni amico, Fratri Betteliniensi. Quoquomodo eram nequaquam certus in hoc faciente, ut successissem. Gratum multum me facit de te accipere urbanam confirmationem ut mei conatus etsi humiles placere atque bonum facere, non fecerunt omnino frustra.

"In ratione verbi quod dici de te personaliter, et de filio tuo, possum solum dicere ut mihi præbeat multam dilectationem opportunitatem habere gratum esse erga talem eximium institutorem juvenum.

"Quando ad urbem venias, in mense proximo, quemadmodum dicis, valde delectus ero te videre in domo meo.

"Cum amantissimis optationibus erga Fratres optimos.

"Sum semper amicus verus tuus,

"EDVARDUS I. SEARS."



causes "shamefacedness?" Another "specialty" offered by the learned and pious Bishop is this: his grace guarantees "a thorough education, *without the spiritual risk of the Roman Catholic Schools.*" Does this "risk" present itself at Poughkeepsie Female Academy, whose rector is an Episcopal clergyman as well as a scholar and educator? Does it exist at Cottage Hill Seminary, Poughkeepsie? If not, still less can it be said to exist at Elmira Female College, or at Maplewood Institute, Pittsfield, Mass., since the head of each of the two latter institutions is a Presbyterian clergyman, but not at all sectarian as an educator. Why is his grace of Albany so much afraid that young ladies will be subjected to this "spiritual risk?" Is it because his brother is a Catholic priest, a believer in the Immaculate Conception, etc., or because Episcopal sectarianism is profitable at Albany? But, we beg pardon, we must not trifle with Rt. Rev. "Shamefacedness."

From Albany we turn to Tarrytown. In the prospectuses of the latter place we find some wonderful things. Thus, for instance, the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, of the Young Ladies' Seminary, announces that one of the peculiar features of his institution is "to inculcate such moral and religious *principle* as may not only *produce* an educated *mind*, but also," etc. (p. 75.) A wonderful "principle" it must be which will "produce" an educated mind!

Still more wonderful, if possible, is the Buckley Seminary in the same happy "location," for we find in its prospectus the following very modest and grammatical assurance:

"The Principal, *with an efficient corps of teachers*, offers to her pupils superior advantages for a *thorough* education in the various branches of English Literature, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, and also in Ancient and Modern Languages."—p. 78.

We should like to know what college or university in Europe or America can pretend to do more than this? But mark the language. What it means, according to the principles of the English tongue, is, that certain "superior advantages" are offered; also "an efficient corps of teachers;" the latter are thrown in as a bonus!

The specialty of Stamford Military Institute is, "*A profound regard for truth*" (p. 118). As an illustration of this, we are assured, on excellent authority, that a certain great Stamford educator has printed, as a reference in his catalogue, the name of a distinguished judge, who, on being written to for information, declares that he had never before heard either of the great educator or his institution! As for Greek, Latin, the Mathematics, etc., etc., if the "cadets" are not saturated with each it is only because they are hopelessly stupid.

The great thing at "Gothic Hall," Stamford, is the "*highest culture of body*." We are told that it is all very well to cultivate a young lady's mind, but it is added, that this "should be made subordinate to the *attainment and preservation* of a sound and *vigorous* body" (p. 117). The prefix "Gothic," seems to us fully justified by this. Moreover, we beg leave to infer from it that the science most "conscientiously" taught at the "Hall" is that of which the Hon. John Morrissey is so accomplished a professor.

Among the many curiosities at Claverack College, one is exhibited to us by the head of that institution as—

"A superior Teacher, who devotes time *not only in classes*, but in the *social circle*, to the *pronunciation and correct understanding* of the *different European languages*."—p. 96.

All "the different European languages" are alike to him; he is entirely at home in "the *pronunciation and correct understanding*" of each. Among other "peculiar features" possessed by the college are, we are informed, "twenty-three pianos"—nearly two dozen!

The prospectus of Fort Plain Seminary and Collegiate Institute will amply repay the curious reader for his pains in perusing it. Not only is the Institute "admirably located," but also "pleasantly located" (p. 81). What is, perhaps, still more interesting, "the grounds *contains* nine acres," etc. To this very grammatical and logical piece of information we need hardly add that a "thorough education" is guaranteed.

But, perhaps, the most curious prospectus in the whole

"Directory" is that of Yonkers Military Institute. Like others of its class, this evinces supreme contempt for all rivals. The following characteristic passage will sufficiently illustrate this :

"*Military Nonsense*, which imposes needless expense upon the parent, while it *degrades to an unworthy end* the noble ambition of the boy, is discarded."—3d p. of cover.

That is, the military department at other institutions is but "military nonsense"—a thing that "degrades," etc. What say Riverview Academy, Poughkeepsie Military Institute, and Alexander Institute to this? But we beg the pardon of each of the three for comparing them, even in jest, to the Yonkers institution. However, although "military nonsense" is "discarded" at Yonkers, the genuine military science is taught there to perfection; and the results are almost miraculous. Passing over several important things which we are informed it accomplishes, we present our readers the following:

"It is made, also, a powerful means of *imparting the really independent bearing derivable* from a *consciousness* of the proper discharge of duty—a bearing," etc.

How wonderful! Be it remembered that nobody can "impart" what he does not possess; still less can any *thing* "impart" what it does not contain, since, to *impart* means to give a *part of*, to share, to allow another to *participate in*, etc. The word comes directly from the Latin *impertire*, and from *pars* (a part), genitive, *partis*. Nor has it a different signification in any language. Need we say, then, that it is simply laughable to talk of the "military" performances at Yonkers as "imparting a really independent bearing," or any bearing whatever? and still more ludicrous does it become when we are told, in the same oracular sentence, that this wonderful "bearing" is "*derivable*" from a "*consciousness*," etc. We have taken these pains in regard to the word "impart," because it is used in the same sense in about two-thirds of the prospectuses we have examined; and there is not one of those who thus use it ignorantly, as they use numerous other words, that does not claim to give superior and thorough instruction both in ancient and modern languages! But

one word more in reference to the Yonkers Military Institute; its head-master informs us in the same prospectus, referring to the cadets, "not a *black sheep* among them." We are expected to believe, then, that all its *sheep* are white!

We have detained the reader much longer than we had intended. But the question involved is a much more serious one than it would seem at first view. We have already intimated that the sort of English we have pointed out, in every page of the "Descriptive Department" which we have glanced at, should have been passed over with a smile, without a word of comment, had it appeared in the descriptive catalogue of an auctioneer, or the organ of a quack doctor, in which every drug is shown, in turn, to be an infallible cure for all diseases that flesh is heir to. But, be it remembered, that the performance before us claims to be "a standard publication" for "parents and guardians," "wherein they could find *all* the information relating to the *better class of scholastic institutions*" (see preface). Elsewhere, the world is informed that,

"It is a complete compendium of schools and their locations \* \* \* and is *thereby* a *standard reference*, permanently before the public. It does *many times over* the work of the newspapers," etc. (p. 171).

We presume that the ground upon which it claims to do "*many times over* the work of the newspapers," is that its eulogies are stereotyped. Instance that on "Stamford Military Institute," which is the same, word for word, this year as it was last year. In every other case that we have examined, in which the puffed concern commenced in time, the puff of this year is an exact counterfeit of the puff of last year, except that in some instances additions are made—that is, a heavier coat of the rouge or whitewash is put on. Probably the same performance will be repeated, annually, under favorable circumstances for years to come. In general, the newspapers do not keep their eulogies "before the public" the second week, or even the second day, not to mention years. There may, therefore, be some foundation for the claim of doing "many times over the work" of the broad sheets.

But the most important part is to come yet. Let the reader examine for himself only a half-dozen of the specimens of grammar which we have faithfully transcribed in the preceding pages, and then not only read the following, but ponder on it:

"We shall soon have *completed* our arrangements for *supplying Principals with Teachers* in any particular branch, and as we have an extensive correspondence, all *first-class Instructors* will find it to their advantage to communicate with us" (p. 171).

Let any intelligent friend of education say now whether we are right or wrong. Is this the source to which the rising generation is to look for its superior learning? What sort of people are our first-class educators? Alas! for "their advantage," if they find it in such a quarter, or by such means. It is not the "Directory" people, however, who are to blame; it is not they who degrade the noblest of causes; but those who employ them for the sake of being daubed with praise in the most fulsome manner—in the language of the servants' hall.

In a word, we regret to say, that of nothing does the whole affair remind us more forcibly than of one of the gloomiest passages in Michelet's History. Describing a certain class on the coast of Brittany, the historian proceeds: "They plunder at their ease *under the fire of the coast-guard*. It would be something if they waited for shipwreck; but it is asserted that they frequently *cause it*. Often, it is said, a *cow*, led about with a lighted *lantern* tied to her horns, has *lured vessels on the rocks*." \*

Our educational guides do not use cows to carry their false lights, so far as we know; they find that *sheep* serve their purpose much better; for not only are the latter worthy of consideration, on account of their *fleece*, the unquestioning readiness with which the whole flock follow two or three individuals whithersoever they happen to go, is also of great importance. But this is not all; Cuvier assures us that several of the nobler animals, including the Arabian steed,

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\* *Histoire de France*, liv., iii.

are sometimes induced to follow the sheep, especially when fodder is scarce. As for the *goats* and the kids, the merest tyro in natural history is aware that they bound off at once after their fleecy kindred; and, no doubt, Virgil had this curious fact in his mind, when he penned the well-known line:

*"Ite meæ, felix quondam pecus, ite capellæ."*

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- ART. V.—1. *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, LL. D. Oxford. 1858.
2. *A History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. London. 1846.
3. *The History of Greece.* By PROFESSOR DR. ERNEST CURTIUS. Translated by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WOOD, M. A. London. 1869.
4. *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander.* By J. P. MAHAFFY. New York. 1875.

THE recent discoveries in the region of Asia Minor, commonly called the Troad, showing the actual existence of a pre-historic city on the spot recognized by tradition as the scene of the War of Troy, have given a new aspect to the question, so long and so earnestly discussed by antiquarian and historian, as to the real or purely mythical character of the ancient epos. When history recedes into legend, and the clear daylight of accredited records fades into the twilight of tradition, many wise men have been of opinion that the province of the historian terminates, and that all which lies beyond this clearly defined region is to be esteemed as mere myth—a land of fable in which much that is unquestionably false is inextricably blended with that which may, by a bare possibility, be true, but whose truth we have no more right to assume than that of the fabulous matter with which it is associated. This is the view entertained by Grote, who treats

the entire legendary history of Greece, prior to the first Olympiad—776, B. C.—as altogether unworthy of reception :

“The myths of Troy and Thebes (he says) are no more to be handled objectively, with a view to detect an historical base, than those of Zeus in Crete, of Apollo and Artemis in Delos, of Hermes, or of Prometheus; to single out the siege of Troy from the other myths, as if it were entitled to pre-eminence as an ascertained historical and chronological event, is a proceeding which destroys the true character and coherence of the mythical world.” \*

It will not, however, be easy for the general reader to accept this theory in its full extent. For the lover of Homer and the early Greek poets it was always hard to believe that this vast array of living and breathing figures was the mere invention of a comparatively barbarous age, and that the detailed accounts not only of men, but entire races, which the early Greek received with unquestioning faith, are utterly devoid of foundation. He will rather say with the illustrious author of *Paradise Lost* :

“Yet those old and inborn kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what hath so long been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict incredulity.” †

To such readers the recent discoveries in the plain of Troy will be doubly welcome, inasmuch as they go far to establish the historical basis of one of the oldest and most popular legends of antiquity, and impart a *primâ-facie* probability to many of the accompanying traditions.

But, even without the basis of actual evidence, there are certain principles on which this disputed question may be examined, and on which we may estimate the degree of antecedent probability in these pre-historic myths which, taken in connection with the fact of their undoubted existence in the earliest period of which we have knowledge as established and unquestioned traditions, may entitle them to reception at the present day. And if, for the purpose, we take our stand-point at the time of the first Olympiad, we find at that period, existing in Greece, a people of no ordinary civilization—a people whose distinguishing characteristics are a love of liberty, an

\* Grote, vol. i., p. 647.

† Milton's *History of England*, p. 2.



adherence to constitutional forms of government, and a government substantially by the people;\* a people enjoying the fullest protection of the laws, and possessing a perfect social organization—at the same time, a people not strictly homogeneous, but distributed into various communities, possessing each its own government and institutions, yet bound together by a community of race, language, and religion, forming, in many instances, a federative association, with a common tribunal for the regulation of international law, a common adviser in the Delphic oracle, and a common religious and social tie in their great annual games. Whether we regard these communities in their individual or collective capacity, we find in them at the outset evidences of a long-established civilization, and form of government; we find, in fact, a nation in the prime of its existence.

When we inquire by what process these communities arrived at the condition in which we first find them, whence sprang their institutions, and by what influences they were developed, we meet with no answer. Sparta may, perhaps, be considered an exception, as we certainly find her provided with a traditional account of reforms effected by Lycurgus. But Lycurgus and his reforms belong to the legendary period,† and when we first meet with Sparta in history, not a few of these institutions appear to have fallen into disuse and become mere matter of tradition. Prior to the first recorded Olympiad‡

\* “Historical oligarchy, as well as democracy, agreed in requiring a certain established system of government, comprising the three elements of specialized functions, temporary functionaries, and ultimate responsibility, under some forms or other, to the mass of qualified citizens—either a senate, or an ecclesia, or both.”—Grote, vol. ii., p. 82.

† “Concerning the lawgiver Lycurgus, we can assert absolutely nothing which is not controverted; there are different stories in respect to his birth, his travels, and his death, and also his mode of proceeding, political as well as legislative; *least of all is the time in which he lived agreed upon.*”—Plutarch.

‡ “The first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence.”—Clinton, p. 123.

Although Grecian *chronology* commences at this point, the *history* of Greece presents little more than a blank for nearly two centuries later.

Grecian history presents a blank, and not only do we find no records, but, as to the period immediately preceding this stand-point, tradition itself is silent. Even the genealogies which were compiled by Eratosthenes and other Greek historians—genealogies admitted to be little more than conjectural—leave a space of from two to four centuries utterly unaccounted for.\* But, when we look from this stand-point into the remote past, we find Greece peopled once more—peopled with a race speaking the same language indeed, and distinguished by the same essential characteristics as their descendants—but in manners and customs, political and social institutions, and moral and religious sentiments, so widely differing from the Grecians of history that we are at a loss to imagine by what processes, gradual or sudden, so complete a revolution could have been effected. And for evidence of these characteristics we are not dependent on simple tradition or legend, for we have the inhabitants of pre-historic Greece reproduced in contemporaneous poems, namely, the Homeric epics, composed at a period of which history has preserved no record, and, whatever we may think of them as historical documents, of inestimable value as delineations of the manners and customs of the period which gave them birth.†

\* “La période qui me semble la plus obscure et la plus remplie de difficultés, n'est pas celle que je viens de parcourir; c'est celle qui sépare l'époque des Héraclides et l'institution des Olympiades. Si l'on excepte l'établissement des colonies Éoliennes, Doriennes et Ioniennes, de l'Asie Mineure, et quelques événemens très rapprochés de la première de ces époques, l'espace de plus de quatre siècles qui les sépare est couvert d'une obscurité presque impénétrable, et l'on aura toujours lieu de s'étonner que les ouvrages des anciens n'offrent aucun secours pour remplir une lacune aussi considérable.”—Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, tome ii., p. 455.

† “Homer alone, while producing an unsurpassed work of the imagination, is also the greatest chronicler that ever lived, and presents to us, from his own single hand, a representation of life, manners, history, of morals, theology, and politics, so vivid and comprehensive, that it may be hard to say whether any of the more refined ages of Greece or Rome, with their clouds of authors and their multiplied forms of historical record, are either more faithfully or more completely conveyed to us.”—Gladstone, vol. i., p. 22.

And not only have we, as it were, a photograph of these ancient people themselves, but tradition has provided them with a history—a history of necessity largely blended with fable, but so minute in essential details, extended through so many generations, and explaining so satisfactorily the many discrepancies between the Greece of the age of Homer and the Greece of Herodotus and Thucydides, that we cannot regard it but as, in the main, entitled to credence.

In estimating the value of this traditional history, no slight consideration is due to the unconscious, or, at least, unintentional testimony given to it by the sole writer of the period of whom we have knowledge. That the epic bard, in locating the various nations of Greece, should have indicated with fidelity the positions which they occupied in his day, may be assumed as matter of fact. But, when we compare his descriptions with the geography of historic Greece, we find them widely divergent. In the *Iliad*, the inhabitants of Attica are called Ionians,\* a term harmonizing with the beautiful tradition of Ion, the son of Creusa, commemorated by Euripides, but by no means in accordance with historic times in which we find no Ionians except on the coast of Asia Minor. These Ionian Athenians are represented as more luxurious in their habits than the generality of Grecians, and are comparatively undistinguished in the war.† This harmonizes exactly with the character of the Asiatic Greeks, but not with that of the Athenians in history. The inhabitants of Thebes, or, at least, of its adjacent territory, are Bœotians, but Homer always alludes to their ancestors, even within the memory of his own elder heroes, ‡ as Cadmeans, a race in every respect the re-

\* *Ἰάονες ἐλαχίστωνες*.—*Iliad*, xiii., 685.

† Menestheus, the Athenian commander, though skilled in marshalling forces (*Iliad*, v., 552–555), is by no means distinguished for bravery, and fights, with his contingent, only to be defeated.—*Iliad*, xii., 332, xiii., 685, *usque ad finem*.

‡ Whenever he alludes to the time of the Theban war, which was contemporaneous with Nestor and Tydeus, the father of Diomedes.—*Iliad*, iv., 385, 388, 391; v., 804–807; x., 208; xxiii., 680. *Odyssey*, xi., 275.

verse of the heavy and sluggish-minded Bœotians of history ; and, while he speaks with the utmost veneration of the ancient Cadmeans, the, to him, modern Bœotians are mentioned with little respect, and form with the Athenians a part of the defeated contingent in the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*. It is apparent, from the manner in which they are introduced, that the Bœotian inhabitants of the Theban district were, in Homer's time, a comparatively new race, and little revered.

The chief seat of power in pre-historic Greece lay evidently within the Peloponnesus. Here lay the domains of the two royal brothers, the descendants of its eponymous hero ; and here was Argos, the realm of the Perseid and Danaan princes. So pre-eminently do the Achæians and Argives, or Danaï, stand at the head of the Greek races, that their names are applied by Homer to the entire Grecian army ; while of the Dorians we hear little or nothing, except that a tribe of that name formed part of the inhabitants of Crete.\*

In historic Greece this state of affairs is entirely reversed. Except, perhaps, the Athenians, the Dorians are the most influential of the sons of Greece, ruling the greater part of the Peloponnesian coast, and virtually controlling the Amphietyonic synod and even the Delphic oracles. On the other hand, the Achæians, the race of Agamemnon and Menelaus, the rulers of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, and the flower of the Homeric army, are, in historic times, but the occupants of an insignificant strip of land near the Isthmus, containing twelve, and only twelve, harborless cities, and of no political importance ; † while their cognate race at the North, the Achæians of Phthiotis—the race of the God-like Achilles—are found to be completely absorbed into the Thessalians. Sparta and Argos are Dorian, and the eminence of Mycenæ is already a thing of the past.

The “divine Elis, in which the Epeians held sway,” ‡ is, in historical times, occupied by the Ætolians, whom Homer places on the north of the Corinthian Gulf. Here legend

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\* *Odyssey*, xix., 177. † *Polybius*, ii., 41. ‡ *Odyssey*, xv., 297.

once more supplies the connecting link in the migration of Ætolus from Elis, the realm of his father, Endymion, into the region named after him, Ætolia, and the return of his descendants with the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus. The Pelasgians, of whom, in history, all trace is utterly lost,\* are, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, an existing race—the basis of many tribes both in Greece and Asia Minor—and supplying contingents to both Grecian and Trojan armies, already, it is true, occupying a position of inferiority, but mentioned with respect † as the earliest inhabitants of the land, giving a name ‡ to the vale of Thessaly, and a special title to Jupiter § and to his most revered oracle Dodona. ||

Now, if there be any one point on which Homer may be regarded as indubitable authority, it must be as to the geographical position of the tribes of Greece whom he introduces into his epic, for the double reason that here he could have no object in misrepresentation, and that any departure from fact would be readily detected by his hearers. Therefore, when history presents us with an arrangement of tribes so entirely dissimilar from that of the historians, we may assume that great changes must have occurred in pre-historic

\* Herodotus mentions some few townships speaking a barbarous language, which he *supposes* to be Pelasgian, but he does not profess to *know* the fact.

† Διοι Πελασγοι.—*Iliad*, x., 429. *Odyssey*, xix., 177.

‡ Το Πελασγικόν Ἄργος.—*Iliad*, ii., 681.

§ See the invocation by Achilles on behalf of Patroclus:

“Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικῇ ἑτλησθι ναίων,  
Δωδωνῆς μεδέων δυσχειώερον ἀμφὶ δὲ σὺ Ἕλλοι  
Σοὶ ναίουσ’ ἐποσῆται ἀνιτροπόδεσ χαμαιεῦναι.”

*Iliad*, xvi., 233-235.

Dodonian Jove, Pelasgian, sovereign king,  
Whose dwelling is afar, and who dost rule  
Dodona winter-bound, where dwell thy priests,  
The Selli, with unwashed feet, who sleep  
Upon the ground.—*Bryant's Translation*.

|| Hesiod styles Dodona “the seat of the Pelasgians,” and Homer places it in the north of Thessaly.—*Iliad*, ii., 75.

times. When the Athenians continue to venerate Ion as their royal progenitor, although the Ionians are far off in Asia Minor; when the natives of the Peloponnesus still recount the glories of their Achaian sovereigns, though the Achaians have long disappeared, we may see hereafter in what direction; when the race, whose titular origin is Doris, a province of limited extent in Middle Greece, rule paramount in the Peloponnesus, and control the Delphic oracle and the Amphietyonic synod, the presumption of great national migrations becomes inevitable; and, when legend supplements the presumption with detailed accounts of these very migrations, the truth seems sufficiently corroborated to entitle it to reception.

All pre-historic legend is not, however, to be regarded as of equal authority. The creation of eponymous heroes for the different races is in all probability the work of later times. The settlement of Greece by Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and its distribution between his sons Dorus and Æolus, and his grandsons Ion and Achæus, is a legend which bears on its face indications of subsequent invention.\* But, that the people of Greece were collectively Hellenes, that Ionians were the early inhabitants of Attica, Ætolians of the Isthmus of Corinth, and Achaians and Dorians successive occupants of the Peloponnesus, may be regarded as established by contemporaneous testimony.

The various traditions, while differing in many and important points, all unite in representing the Pelasgians as the earliest inhabitants of the Grecian peninsula. They are not, however, described as autochthonous, but as having settled the country at a very early period. Even in the days of Homer this occupancy had, however, become little more than a matter of tradition, for he mentions the Pelasgi as at that time existing only in Crete and Asia Minor, whence they

\* "That which might have been done at a stroke by the individual mind was done no less effectually by the common thought and wish of the Greek people moulding itself by degrees in tradition."—Gladstone, p. 83.

send contingents to the Trojan army.\* But, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the traces are distinct of an ancient Pelasgian occupation of Greece. The Vale of Thessaly is Pelasgian Argos, the Jupiter of Dodona is Pelasgian Jupiter, although his ministers are Helli.

Tradition in later days ascribed to these Pelasgians the pristine settlement of the entire Peloponnesus; and, in Arcadia, to which they would naturally retire when driven from the sea-coast by their more powerful successors, tradition establishes a royal household, the direct descendants of Pelasgus, although, in order to make way for the genealogy of Arcas, the eponymous hero of that region, it adds that the family was annihilated by Jupiter, on account of the crimes of Lycæon and his sons. Æschylus, who may be supposed to utter correctly the tradition as it existed in his day, represents the Pelasgian territory as extending from Peloponnesus to the river Strymon;† in other words, over the whole of Greece. Herodotus gives evidence of similar traditions when he speaks of Arcadia as Pelasgia,‡ mentions a Pelasgic wall at Athens,§ and styles the Athenians *Πελασγοὶ Κραναοί*,|| and states that, even in his day, recollections of the Pelasgic worship were preserved at Dodona.¶ Still stronger evidence of the universal belief in an ancient Pelasgic occupation of Greece is found in a tradition, recited by the same author as derived from Hecataeus,\*\* that, when the Athenians, under Miltiades, drove the Pelasgians from Attica, and subsequently subdued them at Lemnos, the vanquished people declared that they were driven from the soil of which they were the earliest occupants. Thucydides entertains similar views, and holds that, prior to the Hellenic occupation, the prevailing race and name in Greece were Pelasgic. Dionysius†† gives a summary of the traditions of his day by placing them, in the first instance, in the Peloponnesus, thence representing them to have migrated to Thes-

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\* *Iliad*, ii., 840.

† *Supplices*, 256.

‡ Herodotus, i., 46. § *Ib.*, v., 64. || *Ib.*, i., 56. ¶ *Ib.*, ii., 52.

\*\* *Ib.*, vi., 137, 138. †† *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i., pp. 17, 18.



saly, whence they were, in a subsequent generation, expelled by the Ætolians and Locrians, and dispersed into Asia Minor and Italy. It is certain that, in the Iliad, only two then existing races of Pelasgi are mentioned—those in Crete, who belong to the Grecian contingent, and those of Asia Minor, who fought on the side of Troy. It is remarkable, however, that the Romans had, from the earliest period, a similar tradition of a pre-existing race of Pelasgi throughout Middle and Southern Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia; and here, as in other instances, history corroborates legend, for on what assumption, other than that of a similar pre-existing race in both regions, can we explain the remarkable similarity of many words in the Greek and Latin languages, in the names of many of their divinities,\* and in many points of their religion itself, at a period long before any direct influence was exerted by one nation on the other.

Who these Pelasgi were, and by what route and from what region they first came into Greece, are questions on which tradition itself is silent. Some slight indications exist of an intimate connection with the Argives and with Argos—so, at least, we might infer from their application of the name of Pelasgic Argos to the portion of Thessaly occupied by them. It would appear from Aristotle † that they were, at one time, called Γραικοί—Græci—at least, he mentions the Græci as the inhabitants of Pelasgic Argos prior to the Hellenes. When we consider that it was the Romans who first applied the terms Greece and Grecians in the place of Hellas and Hellenes, we find here a strong proof of their common Pelasgic origin.‡ It is probable, however, that Arcadia continued to retain for a longer period than any other part of Greece its Pelasgian character, and it is not impossible that, even in historical times, the Arcadians retained a considerable infusion of Pelasgic blood. When we consider their comparatively isolated position, the Pelasgian traditions preserved by them,

\* e. g., Apollio, Jupiter, Vesta. † Aristotle, *Meteorology*, i., 14.

‡ In Italy the serfs of the Greek colonists were called Pelasgi.—Nieb. *ib.*

and the fact that they boasted of their peculiar antiquity, and styled themselves *προσεληνοί*,\* which signified not "older than the moon" but older than the Selli or Hellenes, this supposition appears extremely probable.

That the route by which the Pelasgians entered Greece was from the south there can be little doubt. The name of Pelasgic Argos, given to a portion of Thessaly, shows that its Pelasgic settlers must have previously dwelt in Argos, and emigrated therefrom. Tradition places the Pelasgi first in the Peloponnesus; and Æschylus may be supposed to have expressed the general belief when he establishes in Argos the royal residence of Pelasgus. In Crete and also in Cyprus, which were on the direct and most usually travelled route from both Asia and Egypt, we find in Homer and other ancient writers traces of Pelasgic inhabitants; and the popular tradition, which gave to Dodona, the Pelasgic oracle, an Egyptian origin, would appear to indicate that region as the cradle of the race; also the names of *Απην γαῖα*, by which the territory of the Pelasgians is styled in Homer, and *χωρη Ἀπην* in Æschylus, and which the latter makes Pelasgus say was given in honor of Apis, who rendered it fit for the abode of man by clearing it of wild beasts.†

The characteristics ascribed by tradition to the Pelasgians all indicate a southern if not an Egyptian origin. They excelled in agriculture,‡ they built cities—many of them of a structure so massive as to be styled Cyclopean—their tutelary divinities were Dêmêter (Ceres), the goddess of agriculture, supposed by many to be derived from the Egyptian Isis, and Athênê (Minerva), whose name and attributes are considered to identify her with the Egyptian Neith. They were brave—Homer calls them *δίοϊ*—but unwarlike, and were consequently easily subdued by the more energetic Hellenes. They were deeply religious—Herodotus § attributes to them the Greek names of the gods—they had little maritime enter-

\* Gladstone, vol. i., p. 122. † Æschylus, *Supplices*, 256.

‡ *Ib.*, 148. § Herodotus, ii., 52.

prise ; they were hospitable to strangers, and prosperous within their own borders.

All these traits manifest a remarkable analogy with the ancient Egyptians, and would seem to indicate for the Pelasgians an Egyptian origin ; but there is one apparently strong point of dissimilarity. If there be one feature of Pelasgian life more strongly preserved by tradition than another, it is the pastoral character ; while shepherds, we are informed, were especially obnoxious to the Egyptians. When we consider, however, the origin of the aversion, namely, the tyranny which the Egyptians for a long time suffered under the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, an unlettered and pastoral race, who were finally expelled with their retainers, not only from the throne but from Egypt itself, it appears possible that we may have in these Pelasgians the descendants of these very shepherd kings.

Whatever was the origin of the Pelasgian colonists, the race who succeeded them were undoubtedly Egyptian. These were the Danaï, a race which furnished one of the great titles by which Homer distinguishes the entire Grecian contingent. Æschylus has preserved for us in his *Suppliants* the tradition how Danaus, the brother of Ægyptus, the eponymous sovereign of Egypt, fled with his fifty daughters to Peloponnesus, where he was hospitably received and protected by Pelasgus, king of that country. Other traditions add that, notwithstanding this protection, he was compelled to give his daughters in marriage to the sons of Ægyptus ; that the daughters murdered their husbands on their wedding night, for which they suffered signal punishment in Hades ; that one, Hypermnestra, spared her husband Lynceus, who ascended the throne of Pelasgus ; that their descendants were Danae and Perseus and the Perseid sovereigns of the Peloponnesus, terminating with Eurystheus and the Heraclidæ.

The Egyptian retainers of Danaus and their descendants would appear to have assumed for themselves, as the ruling race, the name of Danaï,\* and even to have conferred the

\* " It is quite plain that the Danaan name must have had some root lying very deep in the history or legends of Greece, since it would not

name on their Pelasgian subjects.\* We find, however, that as early as in the time of Homer the sovereignty of the Perseids was at an end, the Heraclidæ had been driven from their country, and their throne had passed into the hands of the sons of Atreus, and the name of Danaï, applied by the bard to the Greeks, had become an epithet purely traditional.

We come now to the pre-eminently distinguished race that gave to Greece and the Grecians the name which they retained in historical times, the Hellenes. It is clear that these terms—Hellenes and Hellas—were of recent origin at the time of Homer. The warriors assembled on the plain of Troy are by him styled Achaians, Argives, Danaï, but never Hellenes. In fact, we encounter this word in its simple form only once,† and in that instance it is applied not to the entire Grecian army, but to some part of the soldiers who follow Achilles, whose soldiers, inhabiting Pelasgian Argos, and occupying Hellas and Phthia, are called Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaians. We meet in another place‡ with its derivative Panhellenes, where the Oilean Ajax is stated to have excelled the Panhellenes (or all the Hellenes) and the Achaians. In these two passages—the only instances in which the term Hellenes is used—we find it applied in a limited sense and in connection with, or, perhaps, in opposition to, the Achaians. The term Hellas, wherever used in the *Iliad*, has in like manner a local signification, and denotes the territory in or immediately adjoining Thessaly. In the *Odyssey*, however, a poem of evidently later date, it has already acquired a more extended signification, and is used in opposition to Argos. Now, Argos, we know, was situated in the Peloponnesus, and is often used by Homer as a metonymy for the entire peninsula; therefore, we may reasonably infer that Hellas had by that period become a general term

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have been possible for Hómer, as a poet of the people, handling a subject the most profoundly national, to describe the Greek army under any name except one associated with some of the most splendid or the most venerable traditions of the country."—Gladstone, vol. i., p. 359.

\* Eurip. *Ar. Fr.*, ii., 7.

† *Iliad*, ii., 684.

‡ *Iliad*, ii., 580.

for Northern and Middle Greece, Hellas and all Argos \* being clearly intended to signify the whole of Greece.† We may, therefore, infer that the race called Hellenes, having commenced their conquests in Thessaly, gradually extended their dominion southward, and in Homer's time were the predominant race as far as the Peloponnesus.

Of the origin of the Hellenes we have some slight indications in the name of Hellespont, the narrow strait between the Euxine and Propontis, by which they may have entered Europe from Asia; and in the race Helli, or Selli, who possessed in Achilles's time the Pelasgian Dodona, a rude and barbarous race who went with unwashed feet and slept on the ground. Yet was it this race, despite their rude origin, who gave to ancient Greece all that it possessed of high refinement, of splendid military genius, of fine imagination, of exalted intellect, and ultimately of advanced political development.

Even in the time of Homer the Hellenes appear to have extended their name and their influence through Northern and Middle Greece. But we shall see that, in the Peloponnesus, likewise, a race, not only Hellenic, but the flower of all the Hellenes, had obtained admission, and were, at the time of the Trojan war, exercising the supreme command.

Of all the titles by which Homer mentions the chiefs of the Grecian army, that which evidently inspires the highest admiration and respect, is Achaian. It is to the Achaians that Homer applies the most varied and distinguished epithets, denoting not only courage, but personal beauty and intellectual superiority, as well as the highest advance in civilization. To this race belong the Atridae, Achilles, Ulysses, Diomedes, Nestor, and their immediate retainers, while their subject

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\* Μέσση Ἀργός.

† The phrase, "Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσση Ἀργός," is used by Penelope (Odyssey, iv., 724) to denote the region through which her husband's fame extends, and by Menelaus (Odyssey, xv., 80) to indicate the territory which Telemachus ought to travel before relinquishing the search for his father.

racés are known as Argives. These Achaïans were undoubtedly a Hellenic race, for we find them in Thessaly, the earliest home of the Hellenes, a portion of which bore the name of Achaïa Phthiotis even in historical times.\* In military as well as personal qualities they appear to have surpassed all the Hellenes, and they would seem to have been the precursors of the great Hellenic immigration, for we find in Homer that, while the term Hellene had still a limited and local signification, the Achaïans were eminent throughout Greece, and the supreme rulers of the Peloponnesus, to which, in fact, the principal Achaïan house, the house of Pelops, has given its distinguishing name. Tradition relates this house to have risen to the supreme authority on the ruins of the house of Perseus, Atreus having been called to the throne of Mycenæ when Eurystheus fell before Athens, and having expelled the Heraclidæ, the rightful successors, and bound them by oath not to return for a hundred years.†

Here, then, we have the Greeks as distributed in the time of Homer; the Pelasgians, merged in the conquering races, though still existing in Asia and some of the islands, and perhaps forming the base of the Argive race in the peninsula; the Achaïans controlling the subject Argives in the Peloponnesus and the Vale of Thessaly; the Hellenes, the predominant race in Northern and Middle Greece; the Ionians still occupying Attica, and the Cadmeans having but recently abandoned Thebes to the Bœotians; while the ancient race of Danai are still living in exile, and are the guests of the hitherto insignificant Dorians.

With the Dorians we are brought in direct connection with historical Greece, for these are the race who, in historic times, governed the Peloponnesus, and were the controlling authority in the Amphictyonic synod and at Delphi. It is remarkable that, of the peculiar characteristics of these Dorians, tradition says absolutely nothing. Homer mentions them once, only,

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\* Polybius, vol. xviii., ch. 30.

† Herodotus, ix., 26. Diodor, iv., 58.

as a fraction of the population of Crete;\* and their own tradition represents them simply as allies of the Heraclidæ, who assisted them to re-establish the Perseid or Heraclid dynasty in the Peloponnesus. This is a strong circumstance in favor of the substantial genuineness of the ancient Greek traditions, for, had the pre-historic legends originated among the Dorian inhabitants of the peninsula, they would undoubtedly have been of a character to flatter the national vanity of the Dorians themselves rather than of the race which they supplanted. The legend, however, limits the achievements of the Dorians to an attack on the Peloponnesus by sea—at first totally unsuccessful—finally resulting in the entire subjugation of the peninsula † and the expulsion of the Achæians therefrom, and, as if no provision were to be made for the national vanity of the Dorians, it adds that both of their chieftains were slain and the peninsula distributed, under the rule of three descendants of Hercules, into its three great divisions, Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. Thus, although the Dorians became by this conquest the absolute possessors of the Peloponnesus, it was under the control of Heraclid and not Dorian sovereigns, to whom the latter were but subjects and auxiliaries.‡ Could any thing be more probable than such a result in fact? any thing more improbable than the invention of a fiction so uncomplimentary to the inventors?

The defeated Achæians, under the command of Tisamenus, the grandson of Orestes, are said to have retired to the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, and, expelling its Ionian occupants, to have possessed the province known in history as Achæia. This is but a small territory, and could have accommodated but a portion of the exiles. The majority of the race must have removed farther north, probably to their ancient home in Achæia Phthiotis, and thence to the regions northward and westward. Some, it is said, were guided by Penthilus, another

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\* *Odyssey*, xix., 175-177.

† Apollodorus, ii., 3, 8.

‡ The Ætolians are said to have been likewise auxiliaries, and to have received Elis as their share in the partition.—Strabo. x., p. 463.



son of Orestes, through Bœotia and Thessaly to Thrace,\* whence a vague and probably inaccurate tradition takes them over into Asia. Other bands of exiles occupied Lesbos and neighboring islands, and spread themselves through the region surrounding the Troad. This is called the great Æolic emigration. The Ionians, expelled from the Gulf of Corinth, took refuge with their kindred in Attica. Hither, likewise, came the Pylians, an Achaian race, driven from Messênê by the Dorians, and their leader Melanthus, according to Athenian tradition, became king over Athens. Under Codrus, his son, Attica became the resort of refugees from all parts of Greece, and, increasing in wealth and power, excited the jealousy of the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, who levied war upon Athens, but without success. One result of this war was, however, what is known as the great Ionic emigration, the departure from Athens of a vast proportion of her population, including the Ionians, the earliest inhabitants of Attica, to colonize the region on the coast of Asia Minor, in historical times known as Ionia. Athens, no longer Ionian or Pelasgian, but Achaian and Hellenic, was now in a position to attain the eminence on which she stands so conspicuously in history. The Dorians, in like manner, extended their dominions beyond the Peloponnesus, colonizing the southern portion of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands.

We have now the map of Greece completely re-formed to correspond with the Greece of history ; and, when we contrast this with the map presented by Homer of the Greece of his period, we must feel that nothing less than a series of revolutions and emigrations, similar to those above described, could account for their entire discrepancy. It is difficult to relinquish the traditions on which depends the sole explanation which we can find or devise of the fact that the Greeks of the Homeric period occupied entirely different positions, and were called by different names than the Grecians known in history—or, rather, that, while the names actually continue, they are

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\* Pausanias, vol. ii., pp. 15, 18.

found in altogether different geographical positions than those to which Homer has assigned them, while the Greeks of history uniformly preserved the traditions of a period when these names were those of their own ancestors. And it is worthy of notice that in no instance did the tradition of any section of Greece glorify heroes of the then existing race, but always of a race whose name had disappeared from their soil. The Athenians, not the Ionians, preserved the legend of Ion; the Bœotians' memories were of Cadmeans, not Bœotians; the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus recounted the glories of Achæians and Danai, not of Dorians. We cannot but recognize that, in the very character of these pre-historic legends, there exists an unconscious testimony to their substantial truth.

When we come to compare the manners and customs, of which Homer has preserved so graphic a picture, with those of Greece as we know it from history, we find a contrast no less remarkable. In every community, absolute authority is vested in a single individual; an authority based partly on hereditary descent, but in most cases requiring to be sustained by the personal qualities which fit the chieftain to be the leader of the people in war as well as their ruler in peace. In the few instances in which the king or basileus has outlived the active exercise of these functions, as in the cases of Peleus and Laertes, he appears generally to have been virtually removed to give place to his more competent son or successor.

Greece appears to have been broken up into a variety of small principalities or hegemonies, which, in case of a grand national war, unite under one of the most powerful as their leader, but are, at other times, independent of one another, and are in their turn subdivided into a variety of inferior suzerainties in a manner not dissimilar to the feudal system of the Middle Ages. The king, though maintaining an unquestioned supremacy, associates on familiar terms with the inferior suzerains; his hospitality is extended to them, and received as a matter of right; this privilege is sometimes abused, when, as in the *Odyssey*, the chief is absent or supposed dead, and his power represented by those who have not

the strength to maintain it. In camp, or in council, however, the king is all powerful. Although the utmost freedom of speech is permitted to the princes with whom he takes counsel, while they are free to discuss his orders or criticise his decision, that decision, when rendered, receives implicit obedience. As to the masses of the people—the freedmen, laborers, or rank and file of the army—they possess absolutely no rights at all. In the agora they are silent; and even those less eminent among the chiefs, who possess, theoretically, the right of debate, are sometimes driven back with contumely, if they presume to exercise it.\* At the same time, the position of the king is not that of the irresponsible despot. A certain responsibility to his people is recognized in the fact that all his decisions are announced to them in public assembly. He holds the *boulè*, or council of chiefs, with whom he confers, and to whose advice he listens, and the agora, or assembly of the people, in which he announces his decisions, setting forth his reasons in full, and haranguing the masses in such a manner as to insure, if possible, their approbation.

It is to this system of publicity and open dealing with the masses that we may attribute the spirit of loyalty which was so characteristic of Homeric times. The king is spoken of as the father and the shepherd of his people; † he is, moreover, their priest, for, of a separate sacerdotal office, we find no record in the Homeric writings.

In the social life, as exhibited in Homer, we find a simplicity entirely at variance with the state of society in historical Greece. Of the ceremony and state, with which, in subsequent times, authority was habitually hedged around, we find, in these times but few traces. The sovereign took an active part in the public games, and did not even disdain the ordinary manual accomplishments. Ulysses manufactures his own bed and bed-chamber; ‡ he builds his own ships; § he challenges Eury-machus to a contest with the plough and the scythe. || Paris,

\* See *Iliad*, ii., 200.

† *Πολιμην λαων.*

‡ *Odyssey*, xxiii., 188. § *Ibid.*, v., 246–255. || *Ib.*, xviii., 366–375.

in like manner, builds his own house. \* Ladies of the highest rank are employed in spinning and weaving, and manufacture not only the garments of the family, but the hangings which constituted the principal furniture of the house. †

The daughters of royal houses draw water at the spring, and wash their own garments at the river, while they render to distinguished guests such personal services as they might themselves require from their slaves. Yet these homely and even menial occupations involve no descent from the dignities of their rank; and it would be difficult to find anywhere a higher tone of courtesy and refinement than is ascribed to the heroes and heroines of Homer.

The moral tone of these ancient communities, in comparison with those of historic times, presents contrasts as remarkable as their political and social relations. Personal purity appears to have occupied an altogether higher standard; in fact, nowhere in Homer do we find traces of the all-pervading vices which characterized Greece in what are called more refined ages. Modesty was a prominent characteristic in the intercourse of the sexes, accompanied with a respect to women, as women, which finds no parallel prior to the chivalric times of the Middle Ages. Respect for all the family relations is an equally noticeable feature; also intense veneration for the gods, and an especial regard for the rights of hospitality, the exchange of which would seem to have created a permanent connection extending to subsequent generations, as in the case of Glaucus and Diomedes. The right of the fugitive to an asylum is universally recognized, and the host with whom he takes refuge is bound to protect him at the risk of his own life. On the other hand, we find the protection of life and property esteemed of comparatively little value. Homicide is punishable only by the kindred of the deceased, who may take personal vengeance (which, however, the homicide may escape by finding an asylum in another territory), or may accept a fine in satisfaction, and all that the authorities seem

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\* *Iliad*, vi., 314.

† *Odyssey*, iv., 131; xix., 235.

called upon to do in the way of interference is to insure payment of the stipulated fine, and to protect from further *vendetta* the homicide by whom it has been paid.\*

In regard to private property, the law appears to have been equally unsettled. The domains of the infant heir, unable to protect his inheritance, are appropriated without scruple by his adult relatives.† Piracy and freebooting, in which even human beings were carried off and sold into slavery, appears to have been an honorable occupation. Ulysses, by no means the least conscientious or law-abiding of the Homeric heroes, wantonly sacks the city of the Ciconians, and deliberately expresses his intention of replenishing his wasted stores by plunder; and the crime of Paris, in carrying away the wife and treasures of Menelaus, is evidently considered to consist wholly in the wrong done to one toward whom he occupied the position of a guest. In many of these respects the heroes of Homer remind us less of their successors, the historical Greeks, than of the robber barons of France and Germany, or of the Highland and border chieftains of a later date.

In their ordinary manners and customs, the difference between pre-historic and historic Greece is equally worthy of notice. The hero of the Iliad fights from his chariot, casting his spear with tremendous force, or hurling fragments of stone of sufficient weight to overwhelm the adversary. The rank and file in like manner rush forward without order or system, and hurl their spears or aim their arrows indiscriminately. We see no instance of the close order and charge in line of the *οπλαρχεῖς* of the regular Grecian army. The armor of the warriors was of copper, that of the chiefs richly decorated with gold and silver. Panics appear to have been not uncommon, and the exploits of one mighty chieftain on either side will suffice at times to drive back the entire opposing army.

\* Witness the scene depicted on the shield of Achilles (Iliad, xviii., 498), where a suit is represented, the whole issue being whether or not the homicide has paid the stipulated fine.

† Iliad, xxii., 487-500.

They seem to have possessed no means of mastering a walled town, the only resource being apparently to drive the citizens within the walls, and then reduce them by famine. Even when the defenders of Troy are so utterly reduced as to be unable to take the field against the Greeks, the city continues impregnable, and can be taken only by stratagem. Commercial transactions are carried on by the simple system of barter. That coined money was not wholly unknown, appears from the two talents of gold mentioned in the scene of litigation as the reward of the judge who should utter the most upright sentence.\* But the price of every thing, territory, slaves, or armor, is invariably stated as so many oxen. The amusements of the chiefs in their leisure hours are the gymnastic contest, chariot racing, the banquet (which is seldom or never allowed to present a scene of excess), and the song of the *αοιδος* or bard. This bard forms an important feature in all the Homeric entertainments. After the demands of hunger are satisfied, it becomes his province to entertain the assembled company with legends of gods or exploits of heroes chanted to his four-stringed lyre. The bard, however, was far from holding the inferior position of the minstrel in later times, or even of the rhapsode of the age of Plato.† The bard in pre-historic days was commonly a person of rank. Homer calls him *θειος*, and a sanctity attaches to his person almost similar to that of the herald. Phemius the bard, and Medon the herald, are alone spared in the slaughter of the suitors; the bard of Agamemnon was a person of sufficient dignity to be appointed guardian of Clytemnestra. The bards, no doubt, constituted the educated class of this generation as the epos did its principal literature.

Not being a sea-faring people, like their neighbors the Phœnicians, the pre-historic Greeks appear to have possessed little knowledge of any other part of the world than that which lay on either side of the Propontis and the *Ægean* Sea. Egypt they evidently considered extremely remote, for

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\* *Iliad*, xviii., 507.† *Plato, Apol. Soc.*, ch. vii., p. 22.

Nestor speaks with horror of the risk encountered by Menelaus in undertaking a journey on which even the birds venture only once a year, and Homer's own knowledge of the country may be inferred from the fact that he gives Grecian names\* to the king and queen, and that Menelaus, when detained by stress of weather at the mouth of the Nile, is entertained by sovereigns resident at Thebes. Of the regions west of the peninsula, Homer appears to have known nothing, further than may be inferred from his bare mention of the Sikels,† who are supposed to have been the same as the Sicilians. Of the identity of Trinacria, Scylla, and Charybdis, with Sicily and the Straits of Messina, which was assumed by Virgil in the *Æneid*, there is every reason to doubt. Scylla is located by Homer in the immediate vicinity of the *πλανυται*, or Symplegades, which all mythologies placed at the Thracian or Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Trinacria, lying immediately beyond Scylla, is much more likely to have been suggested by the Crimea, whose triangular outline is still more conspicuous than that of Sicily. We can see from Homer's *Odyssey* that he considers all the region to the north of the Euxine to have been but a portion of the vast open sea.‡ This is the more remarkable from the evidently very minute knowledge that he possessed of the geography of the regions in the immediate vicinity, and the care which he observes to accurately impress on his hearers the geography of his various localities by expressly indicating the winds which blow the voyager to and from them.

The course of Ulysses's wanderings, as set forth in the *Odyssey*, and his experiences at the different stations of his journey, present us with a tolerably distinct picture both of the manners of the pre-historic period and of the knowledge of geography possessed both by Homer and his hearers. It has often been a source of perplexity to Homeric students that, in the Mediterranean, a sea which even at an earlier period

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\* Polybus and Alcandra.

† *Odyssey*, xx., 383 ; xxiv., 210.

‡ Gladstone, vol. iii., p. 280.



had been thoroughly navigated by the Phœnicians, a fleet could be supposed to have been tossed up and down by adverse winds for a period of ten years without at any time making land near enough to Greece to establish any communication therewith. But, if we can infer from indications contained in the poems themselves that the *Thalassa* of the Greeks of that period was not limited in their imagination to that particular sea, but extended indefinitely through the regions occupied by Northern and Western Europe, broken only by islands and separated by a narrow coast-line from the circumfluent river Ocean, we then find all the elements which would give in the minds of the hearers of that period credibility to the poet's narrative. Ulysses, on his departure from Troy, evidently contemplates a series of predatory excursions into such regions as may lie on his homeward route. He commences by attacking the Ciconians in Thrace, plundering their territory and sacking their city.\* To the north of the Ciconians we read of only the Mysians, the Hippomolgi, the Glactophagi, and the Abii, nations, we should infer from their names, more or less akin to the Tartars of Asia. These are all the countries which Jupiter surveys when he turns his eyes from Troy and looks to the north.† When driven away with disaster by the Ciconians, the fleet of Ulysses proceeds without difficulty as far as Cape Malea, but on attempting to double that cape they are driven by a northeast wind to Cythera, and thence out to sea, until after nine days' driving they reach the land of the Lotophagi. This is evidently on the coast of Africa, and when Ulysses, fearing to remain there lest his companions should become spell-bound, puts off to sea, adverse winds drive the fleet to the country of the Cyclops, which is described as a continent having an island divided from it by a narrow strait. This would probably represent Italy and the Strait of Messina. At the land of the Cyclops their first proceedings are predatory, for they take possession of all the flocks, herds, and provisions that they can find, and

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\* *Odyssey*, ix., 39.† *Iliad*, xiii., 1.

are about to set sail when Ulysses unhappily conceives the idea of visiting the proprietors of the lands. When they have effected their escape from the Cyclops they are driven about by Neptune until they reach Æolia, whose position we can infer only from the fact that Æolus sends them, by the aid of a zephyr or west wind,\* and that even under these circumstances it is not until the tenth day that they come in sight of Ithaca. The opening of the bay releases the adverse winds, and Ulysses and his crew are driven back to Æolia, of course by an east or southeast wind, and thence after seven more days to Læstrygonia, which is described as a land of perpetual day, and must, therefore, lie near the northern extremity of the earth. The name of Artacia given to a fountain in this territory is identical with that of a locality on the Euxine, and harmonizes with the idea of a supposed indefinite extension of that sea to the north and west.

From Læstrygonia, Ulysses, with his one remaining ship, is driven to Æeæ by a passage of such length and uncertainty that he has by the time of his arrival lost all note of latitude or longitude.† This island is evidently situated far to the eastward, from its name, its occupation by Circe, the daughter of the sun, and its direct association with the land of sunrise,‡ also from the fact that it is within one day's sail of the land of the Cimmerians, the region of perpetual darkness.§ Here their predatory instincts appear to have been checked by their previous experiences, as they simply send a party into the island for purposes of exploration. After undergoing transformation and re-transformation at the hands of Circe, and after remaining her guests for the space of a year, they enter the ocean's mouth near the land of the Cimmerians, whence a northern wind (Boreas) carries them up the stream

\* More probably northwest, as Zephyr is in Homer constantly associated with Boreas.—*Iliad*, xxiii., 208.

† *Odyssey*, x., 190, 192.

‡ *Odyssey*, xxii., 1-4.

§ From these incidents it is clear that accounts had been brought to Greece by sailors of a land of perpetual day and another of perpetual night, as these northern regions had been visited in summer or winter.

to the land of the Shades. Returning to *Æaea*, and sailing thence for *Ithaca* by an entirely different course from that by which he had been driven thither, not daring, we may suppose, to venture anew into the trackless, open sea, *Ulysses* passes, at short intervals, the island of the *Sirens*, the *Symplegades*, always identified with the *Bosphorus*, and the Strait of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, which is evidently either identical with the *πλανυται* or in their immediate neighborhood. Virgil subsequently transferred *Scylla* and *Charybdis* to the Straits of *Messina* from the coincidence of those straits containing a rock and a whirlpool, neither of them, however, particularly dangerous, but there is no similarity in detail with the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of *Homer's* description, and it is difficult to imagine what necessity could, in any event, have required *Ulysses* to navigate the Straits of *Messina* at all.

Immediately beyond *Scylla* he comes to *Trinacria* or the island of three points or angles, in like manner transferred by Virgil to *Sicily*, but much more probably intended for the triangular peninsula of the *Crimea*. Here they are detained for a month by southern and eastern winds—principally southern—showing that their destination was southward, and that *Trinacria* lay to the north of *Ithaca*. Having incurred the vengeance of the sun-god, by consuming his favorite oxen, they are tossed about the gulf by a west wind, and are finally driven back to *Scylla* and *Charybdis* by a wind blowing *from the south*. *Ulysses* alone escapes from the ship, which is swallowed by *Charybdis*, floats on the mast for nine days—presumably still in a northerly direction—until landed in *Ogygia*, the island of *Calypso*, styled the central point or navel of the sea.\* When ultimately dismissed from *Ogygia*, he sails on his raft—keeping *Arcturus* on his left, therefore in an easterly or south-easterly direction—for eighteen days, at the close of which he approaches *Scheria*. This is *ἡπειρος*,† a continent or portion of the main-land, and is not far from *Hyperea*, the land of the *Cyclops*, as it was from that land

\* *Ομφαλος θαλασσοῦς*.—*Odyssey*, i., 50.

† *Odyssey*, v., 348, 350.

that the Phæacians migrated thither.\* Here Neptune, surveying him from the Solyman mountains, which lay on his homeward route from Ethiopia, sends a hurricane of adverse winds which drives him from the coast and founders his raft, but a north wind carries him, eventually, into Scheria. Here he is hospitably entertained, after the fashion of the times, and is conveyed to Ithaca in a voyage of a single day.†

The state of affairs which Ulysses finds existing in Ithaca is singularly characteristic of a very primitive period. The princes of Ithaca and the neighboring islands have come to seek the hand of Penelope in marriage; and, though plainly assured that they are unwelcome, remain, self-invited, in the domain of Ulysses, living at his expense, wasting his substance, and leading a life of riot unparalleled in any other part of the Homeric poems. When commanded to depart, they positively refuse so to do until Penelope shall make her choice among them. Notwithstanding the lawlessness of their conduct, these men, with the exception of the brutal Antinous, maintain, while sober, the same high-bred courtesy which distinguishes most of the heroes of the Homeric poems; but, a sign of the degeneracy in manners which had already commenced, their feasts not unfrequently conclude in fits of drunkenness, in which they wrangle and hurl tripods and stools at any party who offends them. On these intruders, Ulysses, on his return, executes summary justice. The agora is assembled by the fathers of the slain princes, who demand satisfaction for the deaths of their sons. The agora sustains Ulysses, but—a proof of its really slight influence—the chiefs refuse to abide by its decision, and a bloody war ensues, in which they are, of course, vanquished.

These closing incidents in the *Odyssey* go far to show that, even at this period, although the harshness of their tone had somewhat abated, morals and manners had already sunk to a lower level than at the time of the Trojan War. This impression is confirmed by Hesiod, who, writing at a period sub-

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\* *Odyssey*, vi., 4, *et seq.*

† *Ib.*, xiii., *et seq.*

sequent to Homer, draws a most melancholy picture of the state of public morals in his day. How far this decadence had to do with the final overthrow of the Achaian race and the establishment of the Dorians in their place, can, of course, be only matter of conjecture.

One remarkable point of contrast which the heroic ages present to the historic times is in the influence exerted by the oracles. These, with their concomitant, the Amphictyonic synod, were the most influential of all the institutions of historic Greece; and this influence was in its fullest force at the very time when recognized history commences. In the Homeric poems, on the contrary, we find little more than a bare recognition of their existence, and no intimation whatever that they were institutions of general resort. Here, as in other respects, considerable progress is made in the interval between the poems. Of Dodona, in the *Iliad*, we learn only so much as is mentioned by Achilles in his invocation.\* It is a Pelasgic institution—it is sacred to Jove, it is distant, it is winter-bound—and is directed by the Helli, ministers who never wash their feet, and who sleep upon the ground. Of Pytho, the seat of the Delphic oracle, we are told still less. It is mentioned here incidentally as a temple of Apollo, and the storehouse of untold treasures.† But in the *Odyssey* both of these temples have become the seats of oracles. Visits to them, however, appear even at that time to have been of rare occurrence. Ulysses pretends to have consulted the oracle at Dodona,‡ and Agamemnon is represented as having received a sign at Pytho;§ but these are evidently exceptional incidents. Of the existence of an Amphictyonic synod we find no traces whatever, nor of any tribunal which acted as umpire between the different states.

When we contrast this picture of Greece in pre-historic ages with that of Greece as we find it in history—independent and absolute monarchies with republics federated by a

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\* *Iliad*, xvi., 233–235.

† *Ib.*, ix., 404.

‡ *Odyssey*, xiv., 327.

§ *Ib.*, iii., 80.

common Amphictyony; a religion almost patriarchal, in which each chief was, as it were, priest of his own class, with a ritual the most elaborate, and a sacerdotal class holding peculiar privileges; a warfare in which each warrior fought on his own account, with a military system of the most complete organization; authorized piracy and freebooting, with an established and recognized law of nations—at the same time that we contrast a tone of moral purity, and a refinement and geniality of social intercourse, with a society essentially vicious, and habits of social life almost oriental in their exclusiveness, we find it difficult to believe that changes so radical can have been effected by the gradual process of years without other and more controlling influences being at work to facilitate them.

We find the commencement of these, no doubt, in the great Dorian invasion, which brought an essentially new people, possessing, however, a considerable blending of the old stock in their Heracleid leaders and allies, into the heart of Greece, and breaking up the old houses, gradually redistributed the Hellenes in new territories, free to form new combinations and establish new institutions. That this reformation was the work of time is evident from the long period in which Grecian history presents an unwritten page. The overthrow of old institutions was, probably, rapid; the growth of new ones undoubtedly slow.

A further question remains to be solved as to the fate of the descendants of heroes who, with their families and institutions, disappeared so suddenly from the page of history. Tradition has partially answered these questions in accounts of the migration under Penthius and the great Æolic migration. These traditions but imperfectly account for their disappearance, for the Greek inhabitants of Asiatic regions, as we find them in history, have as little in common with their heroic ancestors as the inhabitants of the Peninsula. The question still remains: Can we find nowhere in the neighborhood of Greece a people possessing substantially Grecian characteristics, a people akin to the Hellenes in

language, religion, and traditions, but in laws, manners, and customs, entirely differing from the modern Greeks, and closely resembling the people described in the Homeric poems?

Such a people we unquestionably find in the inhabitants of Macedonia, a region closely adjoining Thrace, to which Penthilus is said to have conducted the Peloponnesian emigrants. The Macedonians reckoned their ancestors among the sons of Pelasgus, the earliest traditional Peloponnesian sovereign; their royal family was called Teminidæ, i. e., descendants of that Temenus who led the Heraclidæ with the Dorians into Peloponnesian Argos.\* They claimed as their ancestor a brother of the Heracleid king, Pheidon, who fled from the Peninsula on account of a quarrel with the Dorian leaders. They were also called Argeadæ, or natives of Argos, and their first settlement was called Orestis,† a name peculiarly honored by the Peloponnesian Achaïans. When we meet with them in history they still preserve monarchical institutions‡ of a character strongly resembling the monarchies in the *Iliad*. Here, as in Homer's time, the king led his people to war, judged them in peace, maintained an intimate daily association with the leading families among his subjects, who accompanied him on expeditions of war, and shared the dangers of the conflict and the honors of victory. They were given to predatory warfare, and their home-life was passed in hunting rather than in more domestic pursuits. They were fond of the banquet, and drunkenness and violence were not uncommon among them. In all these respects the Macedonian type was much ruder and less civilized than that of the antique hero—it lacked the element of refinement as it lacked the wealth. This was the inevitable result of an association for centuries with the semi-barbarous Illyrians and Thra-

\* Herodotus, vol. viii., p. 137.

† Curtius, vol. v., p. 25.

‡ "As in the heroic age, so with the Macedonians, the king was supreme judge, military commander-in-chief, and high priest; but he was no master over the people, according to the oriental fashion, no despot before whom all other rights vanish."—Curtius, vol. v., p. 21.



cians, but the exploits of Philip and Alexander show that in the Macedonian character existed to the full the elements of the ancient Homeric hero.

The Macedonians, like their prototypes, excelled in horsemanship; their chief wealth consisted in flocks and herds; they maintained a sitting posture at the table; their women mingled freely in social intercourse, and in the higher classes even concerned themselves with intrigues of state. But a most significant point of resemblance between this remarkable people and the pre-historic Grecians exists in their proper names. Here we find all the ancient names of heroes, which in Greece proper disappear with the heroic ages. Orestes, Alexander, Thebe, Eurydice, Amyntas, Jason, all names which in Greece had been consigned to a remote mythology, all reappear in Macedonia, and are in common use. Does it not appear as though the Macedonians might well be the true descendants of the Achaian heroes who ruled in Peloponnesus?

History and tradition both guide us in this conjecture. Polybius, as we have seen, mentions Achaians in Thessaly. Tradition carries the largest emigration of the Peloponnesian exiles through Bœotia and Thessaly into Thrace, but for some inconceivable reason, probably connected with the Æolic immigration, it then carries them across the Bosphorus into Asia. Macedonian tradition in like manner brought in the Temenidæ through Bœotia and Illyria.\* We are, therefore, not without grounds for supposing that in the people of Macedonia we have discovered the descendants of the pre-historic heroes.

On such a supposition how wonderfully has the revolving cycle of centuries brought around the work of justice. These ancient Achaians, expelled from their homes, lost in the hills of Macedon, and known among the later Greeks by the contemptuous term barbarians, were in their turn to effect the greatest and most complete revolution of all that Greece had

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\* Herodotus, vol. viii., p. 137.

undergone, to unite the entire peninsula under one kingship in which Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Corinth were alike to bow their heads under the sceptre of a Macedonian chief, and were to follow the successor of that chief to create an empire the vastest and most glorious that the world had yet seen, and to establish a renown beside which the glories of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Diomedes grow pale, and the war of Troy fades into insignificance.

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ART. VI.—1. *Sytema Naturæ, sivi regna tria naturæ, systemacè proposita, per classes, ordines, genera et species* (*System of Nature; or, The Three Kingdoms of Nature, arranged by Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species*). LINNÆUS. Svo.

2. *De Analogia inter Plantas et Anamalia* (*The Analogy between Plants and Animals*). FRANCOIS-JOSEPH DE JUSSIEU. 12mo.

3. *Le Monde Végétale*. LOUIS FIGUIER.

OUR object in the present article is a very simple one. We only want to show that there is no good reason why the principal streets in our large cities, which are occupied chiefly, or wholly, by private residences, should be so bare—so entirely unsuggestive of the country—so oblivious of Nature—almost ignoring the vegetable kingdom—as they are. This requires no elaborate arguments. That it should require any arguments, in the minds of intelligent people, may well be regarded as an anomaly.

But, even in the most enlightened age, ideas are slow in their progress; what is stranger still, the public is tardy in adopting them in proportion as they are useful. No knowledge receives less attention than that which most closely concerns our own health and personal well-being. This indifference, or carelessness, is often shared even by the most profound scientists, who, while their investigations extend to

the bounds of the universe, so far as it can be said to have such, scarcely take any notice of what is passing around them, or of the manner in which they are affected, themselves, by external nature.

No one, claiming to possess ordinary intelligence at the present day, would venture to say that most kinds of trees are not merely beautiful and ornamental, but exercise a salutary influence on animal life, and on no animal more than on man. The intimate relations between the animal and vegetable kingdoms are well understood. There can be no more beautiful or more interesting study than those relations. And, by the aid of the microscope, the pleasure derived from them is enhanced a hundred-fold. Yet, how few of the denizens of our larger cities take the trouble to plant a tree! It is otherwise, however, with those of them who have farms, or country seats. Because they spend two or three months, at most, in the country, they often take much pains in planting trees there, where, in general, there is already an abundance, while it scarcely occurs to them how much their city residence, in which they spend three-fourths of their life, would be both benefited and adorned by even one or two trees.

In all the great cities of antiquity it was different. Tyre and Sidon, and Thebes and Memphis, as well as Athens, Rome, and Carthage, had each their beautifully shaded streets. The same is true of all the famous cities of India and Persia. It is not the historian, however, who chiefly gives us this information; it is too trifling a matter for him—too home-like. He has much more to do with what destroys life than with what tends to render it agreeable, and consequently to lengthen it.

To the poets we are indebted for most of our knowledge as to what constituted the chief attractions of cities now no more. They enlighten us in regard to cities, the very sites of which are unknown. The narrow limits of the present article preclude us from quoting illustrations. Otherwise we might commence with David and Solomon, whose heavenly aspirations did not prevent them from appreciating what Nature

could do for their earthly abodes. More than once Moses represents life as a tree. We read also of "the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil," and nowhere is Milton more poetical than in the passage of the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* in which he describes the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge.

Among the Hebrews the Palm-tree was an object of veneration. It was used on their earliest coins as the symbol of Judea. More recently it was regarded as the emblem of righteousness, and as such it was engraved on the doors of the Temple. Nor was the Palm less appreciated by the Egyptians. This is sufficiently proved by the columns of ruined edifices still found in Upper Egypt, which were hewn so many thousands of years ago, in imitation of the trunk of the Palm. As for the Cedar of Lebanon, it is referred to with admiration in almost every book of the Old Testament.\*

The shade of the Fig-tree was highly prized throughout the East, but especially among the Hebrews. Every Israelite was held to be safe "*under his own Fig-tree.*" This was as much an apothegm in Judea in the time of its greatest glory as the familiar expression, "a man's house is his castle," is to-day in England and America. It is sufficiently evident that it was not for its fruit the Fig-tree was thus highly prized, but for the shade it afforded, although the fruit also was fully appreciated. But what we want to invite particular attention to is, that even the poorest Israelite was supposed to have a *Fig-tree of his own*.†

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\* Those wishing to recall the feeling with which the Palm, the Cedar, and other trees of kindred character were regarded, and chiefly for their beauty and the grateful shade which they afforded, may turn to the following passages: Ex., xv., 27; Sol. Song, vii., 7; Jer., x., 5; Ps., i., 3; Ezek., xxxi., 3, 6, 8, and xli., 19.

† Let those who think that we exaggerate the esteem in which the Fig-tree was held by the Hebrews, partly for the shade it afforded, partly for its beauty and its vitality, and partly as an index of the flight of time, and of the change of seasons, turn to the following passages in their most ancient records: Gen. iii., 7; Isa., xxxvi., 16; Jer., xxiv., 2; Sol. Song, ii., 13.

Nothing suggests to Homer more beautiful allusions than the family residence, whether in town or country, protected from the burning rays of the sun by a stately tree. There is scarcely one of the noble dramas of Æschylus, Euripides, or Sophocles, in which the same love for the friendly shade of spreading branches does not find eloquent and beautiful expression. Of all that Martial has written, no hemistich is so often quoted as that in which he compliments a friend by describing his residence at Rome, as "a country house in the midst of the city."

*Rus in urbe est.*

Nor is the fact different in modern times. In all the great cities of Europe, the streets occupied by the wealthy might be distinguished at the present day—were there nothing else to indicate them—by the number of shade-trees which adorn them. And if the curious traveller will only make inquiries in passing, he will, in general, find that, just in proportion as those who are wealthy are, also, intelligent, and acquainted with the laws of their being, do they evince a love for the cultivation of trees about their residences.

It is a remarkable fact that the ancient habit of cultivating shade-trees in large cities had almost ceased in the Middle Ages. Stately trees shading the residences of their owners had become almost as scarce as fine pieces of sculpture, or fine paintings. Not only were few or none planted, but those that had flourished for many generations were torn down. It was not until the time of Linnaeus that a reaction took place. There was thus a Renaissance in nature as well as in art. The great Swedish naturalist did all in his power to revive the good custom. Understanding human nature sufficiently to know that the wealthy must be influenced by other means than the principles of science, he wrote an essay in which he showed that the trunks of trees found in Herculaneum and Pompeii shed more light on the characters of the upper classes of the citizens than any other existing means, with the sole exception of the arts of the sculptor and engraver.

But, in speaking of what has been humorously called the "Shady Renaissance," we must not overlook the efforts of other great botanists in the same direction, especially Magnol, Bernard de Jussieu, and Adanson. Although Buffon and Cuvier devoted comparatively little attention to the vegetable kingdom, both found time to study it sufficiently to be convinced that animal life is much more dependent on vegetable life than even the most intelligent portion of the public was aware. It is worthy of remark that it was the views of these two great naturalists on the subject of cultivating shade-trees in cities, in corroboration of those of Linnæus, which made the late King of Saxony a botanist; and the same circumstances will serve to explain the fact that no other cities in Europe are so much in the *rus in urbe* style as those of Saxony.

But, of all our modern thinkers, no one has exerted himself more to encourage the cultivation of trees in the immediate vicinity of our residences, whether in city or country, than Wilhelm von Humboldt. He studied the ruined cities of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, in the same spirit that Linnæus did Herculaneum and Pompeii. And what does Humboldt tell us in regard to our present subject? "Trees," he says, "have about them something beautiful and attractive, even to the fancy, since they cannot change their places, are witnesses of all the changes that take place around them; and, as some reach a great age, they become, as it were, historical monuments, and, like ourselves, they have a life, growing and passing away—not being inanimate and unvarying like the fields and rivers. One sees them passing through various stages, and at last, step by step, approaching death, which makes them look still more like ourselves." \*

Nor is this the only sense in which it may be said that the tree which protects us by its friendly shade is "like ourselves." Kützing, one of the most eminent physiologists of the present day, maintains, with excellent reason, that "every organic

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\* Letter, i., p. 71.

being is *constituted of vegetable and animal elements*, and, according as one or the other prevails, the being *becomes an animal or a vegetable*." As to trees becoming "historical monuments," the expression will seem hyperbolic to those who have not given much attention to the subject; it is, however, no exaggeration, but a fact, to the truth of which hundreds can testify. There are trees in California which, according to the estimates of the best vegetable physiologists who have examined them, cannot be less than 2,000 years old—some maintaining that they are 3,000 years. As none of the great authorities on vegetable physiology have had an opportunity of seeing the California giants, many regard the above statement as partaking of the Munchausen character. But no such objection can be made to the estimated age of the famous Chestnut-tree of Mount Etna. M. Fignier closes his description of the latter thus: "If we are to suppose that each year its concentric layers have only been a line in thickness, this venerable tree would not be less than 3,600 to 4,000 years old." \*

Even when man used to live, as we are told in the Bible, to be nearly a thousand years, we are not informed by any naturalist, ancient or modern, that any animal, even the elephant or the mammoth, lived to be as old as this chestnut-tree. It is sufficient to say of its dimensions that we have the testimony of the most eminent scientists of the present day that its trunk, now entirely hollow with age, is 160 feet in circumference.

But what concerns us most in our present discussion is not how large trees may grow, or how long they may live, but what influence are they capable of exercising on our health, what are we to learn from them, how are we to be interested by them. In all these relations our subject is full of interest.

At the same time, no one who reflects can be indifferent to such immense longevity and such enormous size, although we cannot pause here to ponder upon either. Suffice it to say, in

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\* *Le Monde Végétale—Corylaceæ.*



passing, that man is but as the butterfly in length of life and size, compared to those giants, which continue to increase in strength and dimensions for thousands of years. But the latter are interesting and instructive in various other respects. Nor shall we require the reader to be satisfied with our own views in proof of this, although, having spent our boyhood days almost exclusively in the vegetable kingdom, and always taken a deep interest in the chief phenomena which it presents, we might claim, without affectation, to have gleaned some knowledge of the subject. We could, for instance, tell the reader, from our own experience, that, "If Nature had endowed us with microscopic powers of sight, and if the integuments of plants were transparent, the vegetable kingdom would *by no means* present *that aspect of immobility and repose* under which *it appears to our senses*;" but these just quoted are the words of Humboldt.

We trust it is not necessary to quote Humboldt, or Linnaeus, or Jussieu, or De Candolle, to satisfy our readers that trees exhibit the phenomena of respiration and circulation, as well as exhalation, corresponding with those of animals. No one can consider himself intelligent who is not aware of these facts. It is needless, therefore, for us to discuss them here. But it may not be superfluous to present an observation or two in regard to respiration, as it has a direct bearing on the object of our article. For the same reason that we have quoted Humboldt above, we quote another authority here. "But the respiration of plants," says M. Figuier, "is not always the same, like that of animals, in which carbonic-acid gas, water, and vapor, are exhaled *without cessation, either by day or night*. Plants possess *two modes of respiration*, one diurnal, in which the leaves *absorb* the carbonic acid of the air, *decompose this gas*, and *extract* the oxygen, while the carbon remains in the tissues; the other nocturnal, and *the reverse*, in which the plant absorbs the oxygen and extracts the carbonic acid, that is to say, *they breathe in the same manner that animals do*."\*

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\* *Le Monde Végétale*, 8vo., Paris, p. 198.

But that trees (plants) breathe is not merely what we ask the owner of every house in the private streets in our large cities to remember, but that they breathe in a manner which is favorable to animal life, especially to human life. In illustration of this, we extract another brief passage: "The diurnal respiration of plants, which pours into the air considerable quantities of oxygen gas, happily *compensates* for the effects of animal respiration, which produces carbonic acid, injurious to the life of man. Plants (trees) *purify the air* injured by the respiration of men and animals. If animals transform the oxygen of the air into carbonic acid, *plants take this carbonic acid back again by their diurnal respiration.*"\*

These are facts which are beyond dispute; few facts in the whole range of the natural sciences are more important in a hygienic point of view; yet how few are influenced by them, or even think of them, more than if they were things in which man can have no interest! Need we say that, for one who bestows a moment's thought on the influence of trees, or plants, on human life, there are ninety-nine who are quite enthusiastic and elaborate in their attention to what they are told is taking place, or may take place, on the planet Jupiter, or on the mountains of the moon?

But, even of those who admit that trees in our streets are ornamental as well as useful, many object to them on account of the trouble they give, the money they cost, and the harm they may do, etc. In general, these are merely the excuses that people without energy, resolution, or enterprise, make to themselves in order to maintain their self-respect. At all events, the trouble is but slight; it consists chiefly in finding an intelligent, honest gardener, one who understands vegetable physiology. Still slighter is the pecuniary expense, if estimated in proportion to the pleasure it may afford and the good it may accomplish. We have taken sufficient interest in the subject to inquire what the proximate expense would be, and have been assured, by one of the best gardeners in New York,

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\* *Le Monde Végétale*, 8vo., Paris, p. 198.

that the total cost for each tree planted on our sidewalks would not, on an average, exceed \$10. This would include railing, without which it would be useless to plant it.

And here we have, at a glance, the secret of the discouraging failures which many have experienced in their efforts to carry out the views of Linnæus, Humboldt, and Jussieu. They have overlooked the fact that whittling is, unfortunately, a very common vice among our rising generation; they have also forgotten that it is a very common habit among thoughtless men to use even the newly planted tree as a hitching-pole for their horses. There are but few who bear in mind that, as the tree, like the animal, exhibits the phenomenon of exhalation, respiration, and circulation, so is the tree, like the animal, capable of being wounded, more or less seriously. As the animal is liable to receive a fatal wound, so is the tree; nay, more, as the former is capable of contracting disease from bad treatment, and as the disease so contracted may, and often does, prove fatal in the one case, so it may in the other!

As to the harm the tree may do when it grows up, or, rather, when it becomes so old that it will fall—this is looking for danger far in advance; it amounts to pretty nearly the same as if one fears that he shall be hurt in his grave after his bones have mouldered into dust. We have recently had a conversation on the subject with a gentleman who is much more wealthy than philosophical or logical. He was quite ready to laugh at those who are afraid that they shall be hurt in their grave, but asked, with a very long face, "Supposing the tree were struck with lightning—mightn't even a branch of it tear down my house?" Our only reply was, "Supposing your house were struck with lightning—might not the result be as bad as if the tree had been struck?" After some slight cogitation he fully assented to this, but added that it would be necessary to see that no branch of a tree planted on the sidewalk, near one's house, should be allowed to become unduly heavy, lest it might fall, by its own weight, and crush all that came in its way! It is just such arguments as this against planting shade-trees that Goethe alludes to when he sarcastically says that

care is taken by certain folks that trees do not reach too near heaven—

“Es ist dafür gesorgt, das die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen.”

But it is not sufficient to convince some of those who have ample means that shade-trees are not only ornamental—that they exercise an important hygienic influence on the atmosphere of the house beside which they stand. This being conceded, a new difficulty presents itself. What sort of tree is the best for the purpose? The gentleman thinks the Maple very good; the lady is sure the Poplar would be much better; the daughter, who has been studying botany at one of our learned seminaries, is certain that the Weeping Ash (the *Fraxinus pendula* of Linnæus) is just the thing; the son claims that his preceptor in botany, at a certain famous college, knows better than anybody else, and that his favorite shade-tree is the Elm (*Ulmus*). The dispute waxes warm, and the mater-familias, being a pious lady, proposes to refer the matter to their pastor, who strongly recommends the Cedar of Lebanon. Pater-familias suggests that the Cedar may grow too large, and asks, Is not Lebanon a mountain? Without waiting to answer, the good pastor remarks that, perhaps, upon the whole, the best tree would be the Palm; and, before any one has time to object, he takes up the Bible and reads, verse after verse, in proof of the superior virtues of the Palm as a household tree. Finally, the family physician is consulted, and the conclusion he arrives at is, that there are only two trees which he could feel justified in recommending as favorable to health, namely, the Pine and the Oak.

The truth is that, with the exception of the Palm and the Cedar of Lebanon, neither of which is adapted to our climate, almost any of the trees mentioned would answer the purpose. For our own part, however, we should, in general, prefer the Lombardy Poplar (*Populus dilatata*). The Chestnut (*Castanea vulgaris*) is also very suitable, except its large development, under favorable circumstances, be regarded as objectionable.

The Weeping Willow (*Salix Babylonica*) is weird and beautiful in form, and is easily cultivated in our climate, but its sombre, melancholy-inspiring aspect confines it principally, like its relative the Cypress, to the churchyard. In short, it may be said of shade-trees, as of men and women, that there are none of them so perfect, both in form and character, that they can please all tastes. But we do not hesitate to say, as the result of our observation and experience, that the trees which are calculated to please the largest variety of tastes are the Lombardy Poplar and the Pine (*Pinus sylvestris*). These have been favorites in all ages, and in every enlightened country; it is they which Horace describes, in one of his finest lyrics, as entwining their branches lovingly, and forming a grateful shade!

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus  
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
Ramis.\*

We have already intimated how much depends on the manner in which a tree is planted. This is true of planting, no matter where it is done—whether in country or city; but in the latter the manner is all-important for many reasons. The unskilful gardener, who knows nothing of vegetable physiology, or any other physiology, bestows but little thought, if any, on the roots of the shade-tree. He is quite as likely to injure them or so arrange, or rather disarrange, them in the earth, that they will become stunted; and, if the roots be stunted, so will the stem, so will the branches, and even the leaves. In a word, it is of the greatest importance that the roots should be enabled to penetrate as deep, and extend as wide, as possible, for it is only in proportion as they do so, that the tree is healthy or favorable to the health of man. Nor is this the only sense in which it is essential that the planting be done in a scientific manner. It should be remembered that Mrs. Thrale indulges in no mere jingle of words, in her “Three Warnings,” or does not merely draw a fine

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\* *Ode*, ii., 3, 9.

simile from the vegetable kingdom to describe, with peculiar force, one of the strongest feelings of human nature, but enunciates an important scientific fact, in the well-known lines :

“The tree of deepest root is found  
Least willing still to quit the ground.”

ART. VII.—1. *Judgment of the Court of Appeals in the Tweed Case.*

2. *Letter of Mr. Charles O'Connor, reviewing the Judgment of the Court of Appeals, etc.*

WHEN the New York Court of Appeals, by its decision liberating William M. Tweed from the confinement to which the just sentence of the Court of Oyer and Terminer had consigned him, established the law to be, that successive punishments could in no case be legally inflicted under one indictment for separate misdemeanors, the public, while regretting the result, may be supposed to have assumed that, as the law at present stood, it was inevitable, and to have consoled itself with the apothegm—trite and perpetually misapplied—“*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*” From this consolation, poor as it was, we were destined to be rudely awakened. The recent correspondence between Chief Justice Davis and Mr. Charles O'Connor has awakened the public mind to the fact that, in the liberation of Tweed under writ of habeas corpus, the law, as established by previous decisions of the court of last resort, has been as effectually reversed as the principles of justice.

The events, which gave rise to the correspondence which is before us, are of too recent date to require more than the enumeration. The peculations and spoliations of the Tweed Ring are not likely to be forgotten while we are still suffering from the increased taxation which has resulted from them. The system of plunder had increased to such an extent that at last even the mask of honesty was considered superfluous; and the wholesale robbery to which we were subjected had aroused some of our journals—the National Quarterly among the first

—to the necessity of a calm and patient investigation of the facts. The result was an accumulation of evidence against the Ring leaders which was insurmountable; and, accordingly, Tweed and some of his accomplices were brought to trial and convicted. Unfortunately, in the case of Tweed, the facts which could be brought home to him amounted, in the eye of the law, to misdemeanors only. The number of these misdemeanors, however, was legion; and for fifty-one of them he was brought to trial on a single indictment, and convicted of them all. For a single offence of this sort the utmost punishment allowed by law is one year's imprisonment, and a fine of \$250. But the successive or accumulative sentences pronounced upon Tweed for the misdemeanors of which he had been convicted, amounted to twelve years' imprisonment and upwards of twelve thousand dollars fine.

It is to be remarked that the culprit did not except to the jurisdiction of the court, or to its power to try a series of misdemeanors under one indictment, or to pass successive or cumulative sentences. Neither did he appeal from the judgment of the court, nor seek to obtain a review of its decision in the Court of Appeals by writ of error. On the contrary, he passed a year in prison, paid the first imposed fine of \$250, and then sued out a writ of habeas corpus, claiming to be discharged. The courts of inferior jurisdiction all ruled adversely to his claim; but the judges of the court of last resort broadly reversed their decision, and discharged the criminal, boldly pronouncing the sentences under which he was committed absolute nullities, except the first, which he had expiated, and placing him beyond the reach of legal punishment for any of the fifty misdemeanors of which he had been convicted.

The importance of this decision cannot be overestimated. The judgment of the Court of Oyer and Terminer is not reversed, as it might have been on a writ of error brought by Tweed, placing him in the same position as if he had never been convicted, and leaving him to take the chances of a new trial. On the contrary, the judgment, as Mr. O'Connor justly remarks, stands unreversed, and in full force; and, while the



sentence is by this decision rendered a nullity, so that the criminal may go at large with impunity, subject only to his civil liabilities for the moneys that he has appropriated, his former conviction remains an absolute bar to any future prosecution for the same offences. Thus the law itself, so far from being a weapon to deter or punish the offender, has become, in fact, an instrument for his protection.

The opinions delivered by the judges of the Court of Appeals, while failing to cite any authorities for their decision on the question of jurisdiction, were assumed to be sustained by arguments adduced by Mr. Charles O'Connor in the discussion of a similar question before the same court some years previously. From this argument Judge Allen in his published opinion quoted extensively; and these quotations coming under the eye of Judge Davis, he was induced to communicate directly with Mr. O'Connor, inquiring why, if such an argument had been presented by him, the opportunity of considering it had not been afforded to Judge Davis himself while the Tweed Case was still under advisement; and subjoining the inquiry whether he entertained, at the time of Tweed's trial, a belief that, in pronouncing the cumulative sentences, the Court of Oyer and Terminer exceeded its jurisdiction. This communication has elicited the letter which we are now called upon to consider.

Mr. O'Connor commences by calling attention to the fact that the criminal in question has

"thrice bearded public justice in that high tribunal whose voice is law, and, on each occasion, has received its award that, as against him or his, the weapons devised by the people's advocates were vain and hurtless,"

and adds the apt suggestion that, if the patience of the public prosecutor shall hold out sufficiently long, this generation may expect to witness throughout its allotted term

"periodically recurring proofs how thick-witted the people's lawyers are, and how admirably astute, in the same uniform direction toward impunity, the judges of the last resort are, when dealing with peculators."

He then proceeds briefly to review the events of the last few years, culminating in the effort of a portion of the community to bring Tweed and his confederates to justice. To a sketch of the wholesale system of speculation which prevailed prior to 1871, he adds a terse and pointed enumeration of the different varieties of leaders who, at that time, conducted political affairs, introducing sketches which possess a vivacity that almost suggests actual portraiture:

"Some were bold defiers of moral sentiment, who regarded success as a consecrator, robbed the public almost without attempting concealment, and lived in open violation of common decency; others were *sneak-thieves*, who enriched themselves secretly; still another class were content with moderate pecuniary gains, and the enjoyment of respectable positions, wherein, actually deceiving others and possibly, to some extent, deceiving themselves, they exhibited a propriety of deportment which saved the Government from fatal unpopularity."

Some think that, at least, a part of this is aimed at poor Oakey Hall. If so, how cruel O'Connor is! But the inflexible jurist proceeds to give a brief account of some of the test-suits instituted in the name of the State against the parties concerned in the perpetration of the principal frauds on the community. The first was brought against Tweed, Ingersoll, and others, for the theft of six millions of dollars, by means of county bonds issued under the Special Audit Act. This was a claim on which it is generally admitted that the city corporation had no authority to sue. The investiture of the county, which Mr. O'Connor designates as "a local entity of very narrow and limited powers" with corporate functions, he holds to have been the result of inadvertence or of some evil design. It was not legally entitled to money or property of any sort, except by some statutory grant expressly made to it. The Special Audit Act had conferred upon it an authority to impose a tax for the re-payment of these bonds, and could have been compelled by the Supreme Court of the United States to levy such a tax when needful, but it had no right to any part of the stolen money which, if recovered or refunded, could have been lawfully disposed of by the State authorities only.

Moreover, the only persons injured by the theft were the

unknown and as yet unascertainable tax-payers who would be obliged to reimburse the bondholders whenever this special tax should be levied. Of these future tax-payers, the Court of Appeals, itself, held that the local entity, called the county, was not the proper representative. It naturally seemed to the people's counsel that the State represented them, and was the proper party to sue in their behalf. Yet the Court of Appeals, in the suit against Tweed and Ingersoll, held that the county alone could sue, and allowed Ingersoll's demurrer, thereby discharging him from the suit!

In the second case, the question on which the court and the State's advocate differed, was so simple, that, as Mr. O'Connor pointedly remarks, "it is difficult to find an excuse for the party that erred." By an act passed in 1870, Comptroller Connolly was authorized to issue bonds of the City Corporation, for a certain purpose, to the extent of \$50,000. Connolly issued bonds for ten times the amount, and paid the proceeds over to Fields. A suit was brought against the latter by the State, in which the city corporation was made a co-defendant, on the ground that its officers fraudulently colluded with Fields, and neglected to prosecute for the money. A judgment obtained in the lower court was reversed on appeal to the court of last resort, Judge Folger delivering the opinion which Mr. O'Connor tersely describes in the following language:

"It concurs in all the positions of the State's counsel, save one. Admitting the original wrong as alleged, admitting that the fraud and collusion of the city officials was fully established for all necessary purposes, and further admitting that the judgment in that case, if permitted to stand, would protect Fields from any claim by the city, he held, nevertheless, that the State could not sustain its recovery. *The same judges who concurred in the Tweed-Ingersoll case concurred in this opinion and made it a judgment.*"

Mr. O'Connor comes now to the third and most important decision; the discharge of Tweed under writ of habeas corpus, which has elicited the present correspondence. Of this transaction, we have already given a brief account. We proceed to the use made by the Court of Appeals of the argu-

ment of the eminent jurist, whose letter is before us, and we cannot do better than follow his example, and quote the language of Justice Allen, in citing that argument. This is the mode in which it is introduced :

"Eminent counsel claim *with great plausibility and show of reason* that the rule permitting the trial of a person for several offences at the same time *is not authoritatively established, and that it ought not to be.*"

Here we have two important admissions at the outset—one, that such a rule has hitherto been regarded as existing; the other, that the only question with regard to its existence is, whether or not it has been *authoritatively established*. This, it will be observed, concedes the fact that there have never been any decisions adverse to the rule, and would appear to imply that former decisions had tacitly *assumed* its existence if they had not authoritatively recognized it. The learned justice proceeds :

"I cannot do better than to quote literally from the brief of Mr. O'Connor before referred to, and adopt his language, for the reason that he very clearly and tersely expresses the position and the argument in support of it, and which I deem worthy of consideration."

Citing the argument of any counsel, however deservedly eminent, in the place usually reserved for the actual decisions of the tribunals which authoritatively declare the law, will impress the reader as a novelty, to say the least. The argument of counsel expresses at the most his individual view of the law, and the weight to which it is entitled is simply that which his own rank at the bar, and in the estimation of the court, would attach to it—in the present instance, undoubtedly the very highest. But the object of the fairest and most impartial counsel is necessarily to present to the court the particular view of the law which is in the interest of his own client, for the reason that his business is not to administer justice, but to secure the rights of the party whom he represents. It must be rarely, then, that an argument of counsel can be considered to present a full and complete exposition of the law viewed from an independent stand-point; but, conceding the utmost that can be claimed for such an argument, it is

still only an *exposition* of the law; not an official and authoritative *declaration* which *establishes* the law until it shall be overruled by the same or a superior court. We shall presently perceive how forcibly this distinction is recognized, by the eminent counsel himself, in his letter to Justice Davis.

It may, in any case, be assumed that the citing of the brief of counsel as authority for pronouncing an official decision, implies, if it does not admit, the total absence of any authoritative decisions sustaining the point which is sought to be established. Let us now look at the facts, and ascertain whether there are not in existence actual decisions of this very tribunal deciding the point raised on the issue in Tweed's writ of habeas corpus, and deciding it adversely to the present ruling.

The argument cited by Mr. Justice Allen was delivered, as Mr. O'Connor tells us, before the Court of Appeals in the case of Philo Johnson *vs.* The Hudson River Railroad Company, in September, 1871. The plaintiff had sued for and recovered, in one action, five hundred and twenty-six penalties, of \$50 each, for as many different offences of the same kind. On appeal to the Court of Appeals Mr. O'Connor argued the case in support of the appellants, but, the judgment in that case being reversed on the merits, the question whether a party could be tried for numerous delinquencies at once, and subjected to numerous penalties in one and the same action, was not passed upon. It is admitted by all parties that, as respects this point of joining several offences and punishments in one trial and judgment, there is no difference between penal actions and indictments.

Though left undecided in this particular case, the letter before us proceeds to show that this very question was considered by the Court of Appeals, and finally disposed of on December 12, 1871, *while the Johnson case was actually still under advisement*. In Fisher *vs.* The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company,\* Justice Grover, in

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\* 46 New York Reports, 659.

delivering the opinion of the court, utters the following unmistakable language :

"This makes it unnecessary to determine whether, if several penalties are recoverable, they can all be recovered in one action, or whether a separate action must be brought for each penalty. I dismiss this part of the case with the simple remark that, irrespective of what was the early common-law rule, or how the question as an original one should be determined upon principle, *the rule has been too long considered settled and acted upon in this State, that they can all be recovered in one action, to permit any departure from it by this court.*"

We have here the express decision of the court, not only establishing the law, but declaring it to be already established, and to have been settled too long to permit any departure therefrom, that several penalties may be recovered, and consequently several punishments inflicted, in one action. Mr. O'Connor may have been right—we may, in fact, go further and say that, considering his superior erudition and legal acumen, in all probability he was right in his estimate of the law as it stood at the time of his argument; but whether, rightly or wrongly, the Court of Appeals had arrived at the opposite conclusion subsequently to the submission of his brief, and prior to the trial of the Tweed indictments, and this conclusion had therefore become the established law of the State of New York at the time when Justice Davis applied it to Tweed's case. As Mr. O'Connor emphatically observes, he had no choice. The law had been declared, and he was necessarily controlled by it :

"Had any one then read to you my brief in Johnson's case, as persuasive evidence of the law, it must be presumed that you would have promptly referred to Fisher's case. You might have added : 'If that argument cannot be answered, it can be overruled. The deliberate opinion of the highest court in the State is against it. Whatever I might think of its legality, the rule laid down by that court controls me and I must obey it.'"

Having completed this brief history of the rulings of the Court of Appeals, Mr. O'Connor is now in a position to answer Justice Davis's questions, which he does unequivocally in the following words :

"Whether a doctrine so recently and so emphatically repudiated should have been at once approved and adopted when its effect was to open the prison doors and exempt a peculator from penalties, the Appeal judges may answer as they best can. It is not the question propounded to me. The dates show that my argument, however irrefragable, was before the court, and was repudiated by it when Fisher's case was decided. Of course I did not believe when Tweed was tried that you could have treated that argument as valid. You ask whether I suppose that the Court of Oyer and Terminer was exceeding its jurisdiction when you proceeded to impose the cumulative sentences. *The above recited utterance of its views by the Court of Appeals in deciding Fisher's case forbade my regarding that act even as an irregularity or an error.*"

It is needless to add any comments. Suffice it to say, that the day will come when the remarkable and fearless letter, from which the above extracts are taken, will be regarded as the noblest work ever performed, with pen or tongue, by its learned and distinguished author.

But, in the face of this recent action of our court of last resort, and various other decisions which render our modern New York reports a curiosity to novelty seekers, it may not be amiss to devote a little attention to the working of the judiciary system, under which, for upward of a quarter of a century, we have labored. We have not, at present, the space, nor is it our province, to inquire into the merits of the system which preceded it. That it had been found in some respects faulty, may be inferred from the fact that a feeling of dissatisfaction with it, or at least with some of the incumbents who at that period occupied prominent positions on the bench, gave rise to the movement which resulted in an elective judiciary. But, when judged by the proper test, its superiority to the system by which it was replaced must impress the most superficial observer. There are members of the bar still living—the eminent counsel whose Letter has been made the subject of the preceding pages among the number—who can recall the time when the bench and bar of New York stood among the first in the ranks of the legal profession in America, and when the New York Reports were mentioned with respect, and their exposition of the law received as



entitled to great weight, in all the courts in the United States. In what light are they now regarded?

"None so poor to do them reverence."

The lawyer in a foreign court, who should undertake to pronounce upon a question of law, on the authority of a decision in one of the modern New York Reports, would stand every chance of being laughed at for his pains, and reminded that there are few questions on which, if he carefully investigated the New York Reports of the last twenty-five years, he could not find authorities in direct conflict with one another, and in some instances, perhaps, the higher the court the more conflicting the authorities!

The inevitable results of rendering the arbiter and expounder of that which is immutable—namely, the principles of law, justice, and equity—dependent for his position on the the most mutable of all influences—the shifting favor of the multitude—ought, it would seem, be so apparent as to strike the eye of the most casual observer. The officer, who is to administer justice impartially, should be not only beyond the reach of indirect or corrupt influences—not only should his hands be free from the stain of lucre, but his mind beyond the more subtle temptation of popular favor, party spirit, and patronage. Admitting that judges may be elected under the present system—as we most cheerfully admit there have been, and still are—who prove superior to all such personal considerations, the question still remains, "Are these the officers whom the masses, who are privileged to elect them, will, as a rule, prefer? Are these the men whom the party caucuses and conventions—the real element which controls our popular election—will be the most ready to nominate?" Look at the generality of the men who compose those conventions, and let their character answer for itself.

As is the case with most changes, the evil results of the elective system were not most strongly perceived at the outset; had this been the case, the result would probably have been an immediate return to the original system. But the

prestige, which surrounded the honored names that at that time filled the bench in the majority of our courts, insured their re-election in the first instance. These men, trained in the old school, and appreciating to its full extent the dignity and requirements of the office which they held, were little disposed to desire re election, or to court popular favor. They, of course, possessed the knowledge and experience requisite for their duties ; and for a few years the machinery of our courts proceeded in its old groove, and without any perceptible alteration in the administration of the law. But this prestige would necessarily wear off with each successive election. New men were rapidly introduced who had all their duties to learn, while the seniors of experience, who were to guide them in the paths which they had already trodden, were seen diminishing day by day.

Then our courts began to be the scene of contested elections, different candidates claiming the same seat, and justice was obliged to wait while the disputes of rival justices were settled. Still, even at that day, the men elected to office, though without judicial experience, were men of high attainments and recognized position at the bar ; and, if the necessity of conciliating popular favor began by degrees to impress itself on one or another of them, it was favor to be expressed only in the shape of re-election. Even at that period no tongue had dared to couple the name of one of our judicial officers with the idea of bribery.

Gradually the principle of patronage grew up around the courts. The controllers of the party conventions began to consider that there was a variety of offices within the appointment of the judge which they might secure with profit for themselves and their own connection. Then began the disgraceful practice of securing the pledge of the judge to be nominated that the offices within his gift should be conferred on the parties whom they should indicate, so that officers chosen by the court, as its own representatives, to be clothed with its dignity, and invested with its responsibility, should be selected not for their fitness for the position, but because

they were the relatives, friends, and nominees of this or that influential member of the party caucus.

It was at this period that another evil of the elective system began to be distinctly felt, an evil which it had been one of the express objects of its institution to remove. The permanency of our judiciary was considered to be an undesirable element; and it was thought that an elective bench, by eliminating the element of permanency, would form a convenient mode of ridding the community of undesirable judges. But in this, the worst period of our judicial oppression, the very opposite influence was exerted. The same judges appeared, again and again, as candidates for re-election, and, as they all belonged to the predominant party, they continued to occupy the bench for term after term, until the possibility of their ever leaving it in their life-time seemed to fade out of the public mind. Here we have the most striking illustration of the futility of popular elections to secure judicial integrity. In the face of the most glaring exposures, these men were elected to the bench, and, strange as it may appear, no voice was ever raised to suggest that these revelations disqualified them for election; and even intelligent and upright members of the bar seemed unable to withstand the principle of fidelity to their party sufficiently to withhold their votes from its chosen candidate. Permanency in office seemed to have been assured, at least for the evil-doers, by the elective system.

We have happily arrived at a better period, when Justice can, in some of our courts, hold up her head, and disclaim the idea of venality or corruption. But to what extent this reform has been wrought may be considered a very doubtful question, especially when viewed in the light of the recent decisions which Mr. O'Connor has so sarcastically and suggestively chronicled in his Letter. Yet, should the reform prove to have been more effectual than we are inclined to believe, we have experienced to what degradation an entire community may be brought by the elective system, and we must feel that, while this system lasts, there remains little security that our courts, instead of being instruments of protection, will again become the machinery of

injustice and oppression, offering assistance to none save the unprincipled and audacious speculator, who seeks immunity for his outrages, and the rich man, who is willing and able to purchase protection for rights which he cannot otherwise enforce.

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ART. VIII. 1. *Address to the Graduates of Manhattan College.* By Hon. J. R. BRADY, Judge of the Supreme Court. July, 1875.

2. *Reports of Examinations at Manhattan College.* July, 1875.

3. *Commencement Exhibitions at Fordham and St. Xavier's Colleges, Societas Jesu.* July, 1875.

It is now some time since we congratulated Manhattan College on its efficient and successful work; but it affords us pleasure to bear testimony to the fact that in the mean time it has continued to make steady progress. We, who have not to shape our views in accordance with any dogma, who acknowledge no master or dictator, either in Church or State, and who make no distinction between the institutions of the different religious denominations than that based upon the work done and the results accomplished may claim to speak as we think of Manhattan.

It is but fair to say that those who conduct that institution have never asked us to say any thing about it; they have never sought to influence our views, in any manner, either in regard to themselves or others. Most of our readers will probably regard this assurance as superfluous; but there are some who need it if it will do them any good. For the benefit of the latter class we will add that the Jesuits sometimes pretend to hold the Christian Brothers responsible for our views, for no better reason than that, like the really good educators of all other denominations, they persist in being friendly to us.

We may be permitted to remark, parenthetically, that this is rather illogical, not to say dishonest, on the part of the good Fathers, since none were more "friendly" to us than they, as long as they thought they might be able to impress us with their own views and principles. At least, none gave us more vehement assurances of friendship; and, in vindication of those assurances, they inserted their prospectuses in our advertising department in a manner so munificent—so "regardless of cost"—that we could not help regarding the good Fathers as the innocent victims of calumny and misrepresentation. What a gross injustice, thought we, to say that these good men are prejudiced against "heretics," "infidels," etc. Why, they are the best friends of such! Nor were they unduly abrupt either in making their overtures or in withdrawing

their friendship. They favored us with a trial of some three or four years; and, in order that we might have none but ourselves to blame the day that the light of their countenance ceased to shine upon us, they gave us warnings at regular intervals. Nay, as in the good, old times of the thumb-screw, and other appliances of kindred character, they gave us a foretaste, from time to time, of the calamity that was to befall us in the event of our remaining obdurate.

But what were we expected to do? Only what will seem, at first sight, a very simple thing, namely, to become filled to overflowing with faith. First of all, we must believe, and stoutly maintain, that there are no educators anywhere to equal the Jesuits; especially must we lay it down as a fundamental principle, that any Catholic educators claiming to be equal to them must be regarded as impostors. Our faith in the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope were to follow in order, but the good Fathers would not insist on any thing more in this direction than that we should not mock openly at either dogma.

We trust our readers are aware that we mock at no Christian sect or its faith; and that, far from mocking at the Catholic Church, we have often borne cheerful testimony to the indebtedness of modern civilization to Catholic educators in literature, science, and the arts. The dogma, then, in which we have failed with the Jesuits, is not the dogma of Conception or the dogma of Infallibility, but the dogma of their own superiority as educators. This is the rock upon which we split; it was it that brought upon us the catastrophe so long threatened, some seven years ago, when all the prospectuses of the Jesuits, male and female, disappeared, like an exhalation, from our pages, and we sought consolation in our bereavement in the pious words of Juvenal:

"O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis,  
Numina!"

We need not extend this little episode to show the difference between the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers. The former would allow no liberty of thought; the latter would place no other restraint on the expression of opinion than that of reason, justice, and decorum. Then, as educators, the Jesuits depend on the prestige of their spiritual ancestors of about two centuries ago, and on their contemporary brethren of France, Italy, and Spain; whereas the Christian Brothers depend only on the work they perform, and their qualifications for it.

It might well be expected that the colleges, conducted by two orders differing so widely in their views and their plans, would exhibit corresponding differences in their characteristics. We ascertained more than a decade since that such was the case; and, having done so, we did not hesitate to point out the exact nature of those differences. Of course, this was a grievous sin on our part; it was "a malignant attack" upon the Jesuits; and to attack the Jesuits was to attack the Catholic Church,

the good Fathers being at once its pillars and corner-stone. They knew very well, however, that their pious accusations rested lightly upon us, and that it was in vain their organs assailed us. But they devised a characteristic plan; one that seemed to promise the most brilliant success. This consisted in nothing more nor less than to create the impression among Catholics that the conductors of Manhattan were in league with an heretical periodical against the Jesuits, and consequently against the Church! Accordingly, every criticism we made upon Fordham College and St. Xavier's College was declared to be inspired by the Christian Brothers. We laughed at the educational pretensions of men who were but half educated themselves, only because we were told to laugh by the Christian Brothers. For a while, some were found verdant enough to believe the story of the good Fathers; but only for a short while. Although ingeniously constructed, it failed to conceal its fraudulent, avaricious character. A reaction set in; the most pious Catholics withdrew their sons from the "Pillars of the Church," and placed them under those who were accused of being in league with an heretical journal that was doing all in its power to tear down those pillars! This reaction is still in progress. It has proceeded so far now that, while the Fathers of Fordham and St. Xavier alternately offer indulgences, and make threats, to those whom they discover to have sons or wards to educate, their vacant desks increase in number from one term to another, while the Christian Brothers are frequently obliged to refuse students admission, having already as many as they can suitably accommodate.

But the chief reason of this is, that the superiors of the Jesuits have a different idea of what we want in America from that of the superiors of the Christian Brothers. The former seem to think that those Fathers, who can only take charge of primary schools in Europe, are fully competent to take charge of colleges and universities in America. The superiors of the Christian Brothers, upon the other hand, make it a point to send their most accomplished educators to take charge of their American colleges. Add to this the well-known fact that the good Fathers have always to take a hand in politics, and that, being, as they claim, the pillars of the Church, it follows that it becomes their duty to take particular charge of all new dogmas. It is true that their self-imposed political duties do not always tend to diminish the number of their students. Parents and guardians who reflect are, indeed, apt to think that those who are absorbed alternately in problems of government and church dogmas can hardly be expected to find much time to devote to the duties of a college professor, even when they are qualified for those duties. But the process of reflection is not often indulged in under such circumstances, so that it sometimes happens that the numbers of students at our New York Jesuit colleges

are in an inverse ratio to the attention bestowed upon them by their professors. This may well be regarded as an anomaly, but it is nevertheless a fact.

Thus, for example, any one having a taste for investigation or research, may ascertain for himself that, during the rule of Tweed, Sweeny, and Connolly, when the good Fathers of Fordham and St. Xavier had much more to do with our city politics than they ever had before, or have had since, those institutions were crowded in a corresponding ratio, and at no other period had Fordham so large a number of "parlor boarders;" and it may well be doubted whether it will have so large a number again, until we have another Tweed or Sweeny at the head of affairs. But, had the fact been otherwise; had the number of students diminished in Tweed's time; had there been no "parlor boarders" under the Sweeny *régime*, still the good Fathers would have sustained no loss. The handsome donations which they received from the Ring, in the shape of real estate and money, would have amply indemnified them.

During the same period, Manhattan College had nothing to depend upon but its work. It had no donations, either in real estate or money, from any fraudulent source, nor had it any "parlor boarders." In short, the period of Tweed and Sweeny's rule was that during which Manhattan College had to struggle hardest for its existence as a first-class Catholic college. It was literally under a cloud, and the cloud became thicker and more oppressive when we assailed the Ring, especially when it was seen that we enjoyed the sympathies of the superiors of the Christian Brothers. But the cloud did not endure long; at the downfall of the Ring, it entirely disappeared; and, from that day to this, Manhattan has been steadily gaining in fame and prosperity, and just as steadily has the prestige of Fordham and St. Xavier (which, indeed, was never very high among competent judges who knew any thing of it) been on the wane.

We have long felt that the liberal, cosmopolitan spirit evinced by the Christian Brothers, their entire freedom from sectarian bigotry, their conciliatory disposition toward Protestants and all who differ with them, and, above all, their devotion to the great cause of education for its own sake, entitled them to the good-will of every impartial mind. We need hardly say, therefore, that it has afforded us pleasure to observe that its last Commencement examinations elicited the approbation of all our principal organs of public opinion. In order to show our readers that we are not peculiar in our estimate of Manhattan, we will extract a passage or two from as many of the articles in several New York papers now before us—passages which will serve as specimens of the spirit of approbation and good-will which pervades all. "The Commencement exercises of this institution," says the Daily Times, "being



invariably attended by an audience so great as to render accommodation within the college buildings impossible, a large tent was erected on the lawn in front of the terrace, beneath which at least 2,000 ladies and gentlemen must have been congregated. The scene during the progress of the exercises, conducted in the open air, on the banks of the Hudson, on a beautiful summer afternoon, was one of unusual attraction."

Another of our journals says, in discussing the same subject, that "The immense crowd, which a few days ago witnessed the annual Commencement of Manhattan College, was a cheering spectacle seldom seen in our oldest universities on such occasions." We subjoin a passage from one other article:

"Manhattan College has been, since its foundation, a popular seat of learning; year after year, it has been winning new triumphs in the cause of Christian education, but the last Commencement seems to have been the greatest victory it has yet won. Three thousand people assembled to witness the graduating exercises of Manhattan, must have been a spectacle well calculated to cheer the friends and patrons of Christian education, and stimulate them to greater exertions in its cause. Among these three thousand people were the most distinguished citizens of New York—clergymen, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and the most renowned educationalists in the State. The orations delivered by the graduates were remarkable for an originality, a boldness and reach of thought, an extent of knowledge seldom displayed in the most successful Commencement exercises. The different speeches made a most profound impression on the audience, and convinced the most intelligent visitors present that the happy young speakers had received a thorough training during their college course, and had been taught how to utilize their knowledge, how to write and speak--the grandest result of a high college education."

So far as we are aware, the writer of any of the articles from which these passages are taken is no more a Roman Catholic than we are ourselves. But the most rigid Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, would hardly grudge to do justice to the merits of a Catholic institution which has had the liberality and moral courage to number among its faculty, and in its catalogue, Protestant professors; an institution which, in a word, never makes any other distinction in its good-will between Trojan and Tyrian than that founded on ability and merit.

Judge Brady's Address to the graduates of Manhattan is one of the best of its kind we have seen for some time. But we must confine our attention here to the introductory part, in which the judge very appropriately gives a sketch of the life and character of the founder of the Order of Christian Brothers. From this, we extract a brief passage or two, commencing with the following:

"Manhattan College is the continuation of a system inaugurated by the Ven. John Baptiste de la Salle, to whom the cause of popular education owes so much. Born in 1651 at Rheims, in France, he became canon of the cathedral of that city at the early age of seventeen. He it was who first conceived the design of estab-

lishing schools for the instruction of teachers, of which our normal school in this city is a type. Finding that his social position was a barrier between himself and his teachers, who co-operated with him in the institute he was founding, he removed this obstacle by distributing his whole patrimony among the poor."

There are some observations in the address which show that, as a Catholic, the judge has some moral courage. We quote:

"La Salle was bitterly opposed in his various educational enterprises in France, and finally compelled to cease his functions for a short time, in Paris, by the teachers of that city, who saw in his gratuitous system the decay of their own."

The judge did not, however, deem it prudent to enter into particulars on so delicate a point, surrounded as he was by so many priests, with his Eminence the Cardinal at their head. It would have grated rather harshly on the ears of such an audience to have said in plain terms that the good De La Salle was persecuted by the orthodox teachers of his time, who claimed a monopoly as educators, and whose claim was not only recognized by the bishops and archbishops, but, as far as possible, enforced. The judge was loath to say that La Salle was persecuted because he was too liberal in his views and feelings; because he maintained that even the poor needed some other knowledge in addition to that contained in the "Catechism of the Christian Faith;" and, worse than all, because he held that even heretics should not be subjected to punishment for their opinions the same as if they had been guilty of robbery, burglary, or high treason. The judge would have placed himself in a still more awkward position, if possible, had he informed his audience that, on account of the persecutions to which he had been subjected by those who ought to have aided and encouraged him in his noble efforts, De La Salle ordained, as a fundamental provision in the Institutes of the Christian Brothers, that no priest or ecclesiastic should, under any pretence, ever become a member of the Order. This provision has never been violated, a fact which would account by itself for much of the hostility of the Jesuits—a much more bitter, more implacable hostility than the majority of either our Protestant or Catholic readers would be disposed to believe. But, fortunately, as we have shown in the preceding pages, their hostility has, thus far at least, utterly failed in this country, and let us hope, for the honor as well as for the benefit of America, that it will ever continue to do so. But we will extract one passage more from Judge Brady's Address:

"As early as 1838 they had, in one year, instructed over three hundred and fifty thousand pupils. The Institute now numbers eleven thousand Brothers, having under their paternal care more than half a million pupils in different countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. There are one thousand members in the United States and the Canadas, residing in the principal cities, and teaching from sixty to seventy thousand pupils in one hundred parochial schools, fifteen academies, and ten colleges."

This is an important record. Even the one thousand Christian Brothers in the United States and the Canadas form a powerful army; but, as we have shown, it is an army which makes war only upon ignorance—an army which upholds only the cause of intellectual progress and knowledge—an army which employs no sappers and miners for the purpose of undermining the liberties of either Protestants or Catholics—an army which, in a word, has never been accused of mischief anywhere, but which, on the contrary, has everywhere elicited the approbation of the intelligent and enlightened of all religious denominations.

But can the same be said of those who claim to be the only orthodox teachers—the only teachers capable of preparing the rising generation for the requirements of this world and the next? What country under heaven has had reason to rejoice at having a large army of Jesuits? Nay, what country, having any experience in the matter, has not had but too much reason to regard such an army as a calamity—a worse calamity than an army of Saracens, or Scythians, intrenched in its strongholds with the avowed purpose of doing all the mischief in its power? Let those who regard this as an exaggeration turn to the history of any Catholic country, and see whether it has not been forced, at one time or another, not only to regard the teachings of the Jesuits as pernicious, but to expel the teachers as seditionists and firebrands.

Fortunately for themselves, as well as for the future of our common country, our Catholic fellow-citizens, foreign as well as native, have begun to realize the radical and grave difference between the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits as instructors of youth. It is almost superfluous for us to say that it is not on religious grounds we contrast the two orders with each other; our enemies, if we have such, would hardly accuse us of sectarian bias. We disclaim all intention of giving offence to any Catholic as such. Were we actuated by a different feeling, we should rather assail the Christian Brothers, and commend the Jesuits, for it is certain that the former serve the Church more than the latter. The Christian Brothers confine themselves exclusively to their duties as teachers, and allow the Church to take care of itself in its own way; whereas, the Jesuits are constantly interfering in the affairs of both Church and State, and rarely, if ever, for the benefit of either. In a word, it may well be doubted whether Luther and Calvin, combined, have brought more discredit on the Church by assailing it as they did than the Jesuits have done by their arrogance, their political intrigues, their "pious frauds," and, above all, by their manufacture of new sins and new dogmas—contrivances which would have overwhelmed the Church long since, and crushed it out of existence had it not been founded on some very firm basis, if not on the genuine rock of St. Peter.

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## REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

## BELLES LETTRES.

*Galérie du Dix-Huitième Siècle.* Par ARSÈNE HOUSSAYE. 12mo., pp. 367. Paris : E. Dentre. 1875.

It is to be feared that readers will hardly find this series equal to its predecessors. It displays, of course, the same general characteristics which distinguish the productions of this author ; but the brilliancy of thought, sparkling anecdote, and grace of style, which rendered so charming his *esquisses* of the artists, philosophers, and actresses of the period of Louis XV., are hardly sufficient for the serious topics which it becomes necessary to introduce as we approach the close of the eighteenth century. The reign of Louis XVI., with which the volume before us begins, was the prelude to the most fearful tragedy of modern history. To treat it in the spirit of comedy would be simply impossible ; to portray dramatically the horrors of the French Revolution would not be in accordance with the plan of the work ; to discuss the subject philosophically, which is the course here adopted, is a treatment but indifferently suited to the genius of the author. M. Houssaye has well described the eighteenth century, as

“Un drame Shaks périen qui commence par la comédie de la régence, et qui a pour dénouement la révolution.”—p. 17.

At the time of Louis XVI.'s accession, the aristocracy of France had become *blase* and, in a sense, almost effete. It had exhausted its store of sensations. The reign of Louis XIV., dissolute at the outset, fanatical at the close, had been at all periods a reign of great events. Great minds marched at the head of the nation and controlled the progress of history. But a sense of weariness had come over the French people. Grandeur had begun to pall ; the persecutions at Nantes and elsewhere, under the guise of religion, had awakened a feeling of disgust. The nobility gladly subsided into the epicureanism and license of the regency and the elegant profligacy of Louis XV. But to this also came a reaction. France was the victim of *ennui*.

“Après Louis XIV. on était fatigué du sublime, après Louis XV. on est las du charmant ; la philosophie va régner.”—p. 18.

Louis XVI. restored decorum to the court, and sought to elevate religion to its former pedestal. But for this it was too late. The religion which actively encouraged a system of persecution worthy of the darkest ages, while it passively tolerated the most open defiance of morality, and even decency, could not lay claim to much respect, although sustained by a conscientious sovereign and a virtuous queen. A new power had grown up—the philosophers, who at heart disbelieved in every thing, government as well as religion. Hence emanated the

encyclopædie, which is justly recognized as the main source whence sprang the Revolution.

"L'Encyclopédie était un antre au fond duquel une armée de Cyclopes forgeait les armes de la révolution française."—p. 14.

The object of the direct attacks of the encyclopædists was religion—nor the church, nor the priesthood, nor the ordinances—but the spirit of religion itself. It sought to break down, and did break down, in the minds of the masses, ignorant as well as learned, all reverence and all faith, and the weapon which they employed was science:

"Opposer la science à la foi religieuse, secouer sur les générations modernes l'arbre de la connaissance de bien et de mal, disperser le fruit défendu, c'était le premier devoir des encyclopédistes."—p. 11.

The miscalculation, of which they were culpable, was, as the author justly observes, supposing that a religion, which had been for centuries so indissolubly united with the political institutions of the land, could be overthrown without drawing with it those institutions into one common ruin.

While the encyclopædists were diverting the thinking minds of the nation into a new and hitherto untrodden path, uprooting the faith of the masses, and even sapping that of the ecclesiastics themselves, the thirst for excitement was gradually pervading all the people. The visions of Swedenborg, the charlatanries of Cagliostro, the prophecies of Krudener, the *baquet* of Mesmer, were all sought with avidity. Thus, the same influences emasculated the higher classes and stimulated the lower. When the revolution came—and it came of course without warning, for, as Houssaye remarks:

"Les révolutions sont filles de l'imprévu; personne ne les veut, tout le monde les fait."—p. 27.

it found the ruling classes utterly unprepared and without any means of defence.

"La véritable faiblesse de la société que '89 va détruire, c'était de n'être défendu par rien."—p. 30.

The second part of the volume, entitled "Les Reines du Siècle," contains two vivid sketches of Marie Thérèse and Catherine II. In the portrait of the former there is comparatively little novelty. Macaulay has already shown us the picture of the young queen, appealing with her infant in her arms to her Hungarian subjects until they cry with one voice "Moriatur pro rege nostro, Mariâ Theresâ!"

Houssaye takes us more into her domestic life, and when he shows us the empress queen in her palace, prematurely aged, childless with all her children, a ministering angel to the sick and sorrowful, but with little to cheer her own life, sad and world-weary in the midst of all her grandeur, we feel her to have been an object as much of pity as admiration; of Catharine "femme doublée d'un homme," we have a vigorous

portraiture. The intense greatness of the character—great for evil as well as for good—great in the force displayed with equal strength in the regulation of a kingdom or of a royal pageant—great especially in her utter contempt of every consideration that stood in the way of her purposes, renders her one of the most remarkable figures of the century:

“Elle a porté aussi légèrement les crimes que les bonnes actions. Voilà pourquoi, sans doute, Voltaire l'appelait Catherine le Grand.”—p. 111.

The sketch concludes with a brief anecdote of a saying of Catharine, with a comment so characteristic of the author:

“Elle disait à Diderot: ‘Assez bavardé. Je vais à mon gagne-pain.’ La plus belle louange qu'on peut donner à un souverain, c'est de dire qu'il a gagné son pain.”—p. 112.

The sketches of the painters and sculptors, poets, novelists, and actresses—one of whom, Mademoiselle de Camargo, had already been introduced in a previous series—are brilliant and sparkling, but lack the interest of the earlier *esquisses*. This was inevitable; for, in the time of Louis XVI., the day for these artists had passed. The old school had died out, the new was extinguished in the convulsion which ere long overwhelmed all France; and to invest those figures with life and interest is at present a task beyond the power even of genius.

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*Queen Mary. A Drama.* By ALFRED TENNYSON. 16mo, pp. 284. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

WE might reasonably have expected that Mr. Tennyson, in devoting a drama to the history of the first queen of England, would have exerted himself to throw some new light upon a character which has been of late years the theme of no little discussion; or would, at least, have produced a poem of some interest, by graphically portraying the hidden nature of the heroine—a nature which should reveal itself by some manifestation of earnest patriotism, or strong, womanly affection; which would insure a certain sympathy for the lonely woman, yearning for love, yet generally detested; earnest in her endeavors to do right, yet feeling herself the object of her people's reprobation; living unloved and dying unlamented. It is difficult, in fact, to conceive a grander dramatic figure than the first Mary of England presents, even on the unadorned page of history, notwithstanding the dark clouds which overshadow her reign. And by what a galaxy of figures is she surrounded, whose simplest record would seem sufficient to awaken our pity, sympathy, or admiration. Wyatt and Courtenay, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey—it would seem impossible for any one to produce a drama in which these person-

ages, standing forth as living and breathing figures, encompassed with the halo of poetry and dramatic action, should not impart to the poem in which they appeared a profound interest.

We regret to say that such is exactly what Mr. Tennyson has produced in this play of "Queen Mary." It is little more than a rendering into blank verse of one volume of Froude's History of England—following it incident by incident, and generally in the shape of recitals by eye-witnesses of scenes which are supposed to have transpired off the stage. Any thing like dramatic action, the play absolutely does not possess. The characters, when not relating events which they have witnessed, are mostly occupied in prosy, long-winded discussions as to the desirability of the Spanish marriage, the propriety of reviving the act *De Hæretico comburendo*, or the relations of England with Spain and France. This cannot be called drama.

The play, if such it may be called, opens with the coronation of Mary and the comments of the populace; a rather life-like scene, somewhat after the manner of Shakespeare's openings. Then follows an interview between Cranmer and Peter Martyr, in which the former is urged to fly from England, but he meets the entreaties of his friend with the noble answer:

"Step by step,  
Thro' many voices crying right and left,  
Have I climbed back into the primal church;  
My flight were such a scandal to the faith,  
The downfall of so many simple souls,  
I dare not leave my post."—p. 16.

At the close of the scene he is arrested and taken to the Tower, with the words:

"I thank my God it is too late to fly."—p. 18.

These opening scenes are in the best manner of the play. Those which follow the scene at Paul's Cross, in which the Sieur de Noailles draws Courtenay into the Wyatt conspiracy, and that in which Courtenay attempts to sound Elizabeth, are weak, and have little bearing on the issue in proportion to the amount of space which they consume. The act concludes with a long scene, in which the queen appears love-sick for Philip, yet apparently fully alive to the exigencies of her position. Like most of the scenes in this drama, there is too much discussion and too little action. Mary fills up the time with discussions with her maid, with Gardiner, with Noailles, and with Simon Rénard; occasionally, however, she rises into a vein of fine poetry, as in the following fragment:

"My star! a baleful one,  
I see but the black night and hear the wolf."—p. 57.

The second act is devoted to the Wyatt conspiracy. A great portion of it is taken up with speech-making. Still, some of the speeches,



though entirely undramatic, and sadly impeding the action, have the ring of genuine merit. Such is Wyatt's address to the insurgents of Kent, and such, in a less degree, the address of Queen Mary to the citizens of London. This scene is made the occasion of introducing a description of London during the rebellion, which is worthy of notice, as illustrating both the faults and beauties of Tennyson's peculiar style:

"Your city is divided. As we passed,  
Some hailed, some hissed us. There were citizens  
Stood each before his shut-up booth, and looked  
As *grim* and *grave* as from a funeral.  
And here a knot of ruffians all in rags,  
With *execrating*, *execrable* eyes,  
Glared at the citizens. Here was a young mother,  
Her face on flame, her red hair all blown back,  
She shrilling 'Wyatt,' while the boy she held  
Mimicked and piped her 'Wyatt' as red as she."—p. 80.

The act concludes with the defeat of the insurrectionists and the committal to the Tower of Courtenay, who laments his fate in the following dignified and poetic lines:

"Oh la! the Tower, the Tower, always the Tower!  
I shall grow into it, I shall be the Tower."—p. 101.

In the matter of sacrificing the dramatic action to discussion, the third act is pre-eminently faulty. In it we have the reconciliation of England with the Papacy, which furnishes the opportunity to introduce at full length the address of Cardinal Pole to the parliament, and the entire discussion in council as to whether the act for the extirpation of heretics shall be revived. This is the most tedious part of the whole drama; yet we find in it one fine passage—the scene in which Mary feels, or fancies she feels, symptoms of maternity. In the rhapsody in which she gives expression of her feelings, she rises into some of the finest poetry in the drama:

"His sceptre shall go forth from Ind to Ind!  
His sword shall hew the lunatic peoples down;  
His faith shall clothe the world that will be his  
Like universal air and sunshine! Open  
Ye everlasting gates! The king is here,  
My star, my son!"—p. 134.

The subject of the fourth act is the martyrdom of Cranmer, which introduces us to all the debates between the queen and her ministers, Cranmer and the Roman ecclesiastics, and, finally, Cranmer's own speech in St. Mary's Church, which, with the account of his death which follows, is transcribed, almost verbatim, from Froule. In the conclusion, as is said of Rasselas, "Nothing is concluded." We have the departure of the king, and the death of the queen—behind the scenes, as usual—and the drama ends with the following satisfactory remarks:

LORDS:

"God save Elizabeth, the Queen of England!"

BAGENHALL:

"God save the Crown! the Papacy is no more."

PAGET (*aside*):

"Are we so sure of that?"

ACCLAMATION.

"God save the Queen!"—p. 284.

In the article of characters, "Queen Mary" is as negative as in that of dramatic action. The queen herself is little better than a lay figure. She reasons and she talks, occasionally scolds; in her most love-sick stages she is quite able to argue, and, in situations of the utmost agony, is cool enough to syllogize elaborately and indulge the play upon words for which the poet laureate has such a weakness—perhaps, because it is occasionally found in Shakespeare. Of this we have an instance in the song with which she relieves herself in the moment of her wildest anguish about Philip:

"Hapless doom of woman happy in betrothing!  
Beauty passes like a breath, and love is lost in loathing.  
Low my lute? speak low my lute, but say the world is nothing.  
Low, dear lute, low!"—p. 254.

Then follow her comments:

"Take it away! not low enough for me!  
A low voice  
Lost in a wilderness where none can hear!  
A voice of shipwreck on a shoreless sea!  
A low voice from the dust and from the grave.  
There, am I low enough now?"

(*Sits on the ground.*)—p. 285.

Elizabeth, in like manner, displays no traces of character. She comes in and goes off, talks and reasons, but does literally nothing beyond astonishing her keeper, Sir Henry Bedingfield, at Woodstock, with the eminently refined and royal remark,

"God hath blessed or curst me with a nose;  
Your boots are from the horses."—p. 171.

Passing over the inanities of Courtenay, the grumbings of Bagenhall, and the interminable discourses of Cranmer, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, we feel constrained to remark that those who are accustomed to look into Mr. Tennyson's poems as into the "pure well of English undefiled," will be somewhat startled in the perusal of "Queen Mary." On this point, all the characters appear to be equally vulnerable. The lord mayor remarks:

"While this same marriage question was *being* argued."—p. 79.

The queen exclaims:

"I am Harry's daughter, Tudor, and *not* fear."—p. 99.

King Philip says to Simon Rénard:

"Simon, is supper ready?"—p. 185.

to which Simon replies:

"Ay, my liege,  
I saw the covers *laying*."

PHILIP:

"Let us have it."—p. 186.

Cardinal Pole expresses himself as follows:

"I was for a moment wroth *at* thee."—p. 160.

Even an anonymous character is introduced to remark:

"That's a *big* lot of money."—p. 94.

It is much to be regretted that the poet laureate should have made the mistake of breaking up a history into speeches, questions, and answers, and giving it to the world as a drama. It may possibly be his lack of familiarity with the dramatic writers which has rendered it less perceptible to his observation that, in a drama, action, passion, and delineation of character are usually considered indispensable. But that he should have fallen away so conspicuously in matters which he has hitherto been supposed to make an especial study—the matters of accuracy, delicacy, and refinement—we regret to say of thought as well as of language—is a fact which it is difficult to explain.

*Virgil.* By the Rev. LUCAS COLLINS, M. A. 18mo., pp. 190. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

AN analysis of the works of the principal classical writers, with a biographical notice of each author, and extracts from his various productions, introducing the reader to translators not generally known, and, in many instances, deserving of better acquaintance, is the task proposed by the editor of the series of which we have here a specimen. Readers, who are familiar with Virgil only in the original, or through the medium of Dryden's translation, will be glad of an opportunity of learning something about the various versions by which it has been sought to familiarize the English reader with the works of the great Roman poet. Some of these translations are remarkable only for their oddity. Such is the version produced about the middle of the sixteenth century, by Richard Stonyhurst, the author of what Lord Derby styles "that pestilent heresy," the making of English hexameters. We find here some curious specimens of his translations, in which the distinguishing feature appears to have been the attempt to follow the original in adapting the sound to the sense.

When he has to translate the line,

"Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum,"

he does it as follows:

"The townsmen roared, the trumpet-tantara rattled."

When he has to express the Cyclops forging the thunderbolts, it is,

"With peale-meale ramping, with thwick-thwack sturdily thundering,"

and very much more of the same kind.

It is not surprising that the author should style this the *comic* English version. While doing all justice to the vigor and ability of Dryden, Mr. Collins points out, in a few forcible words, the serious defects in his translation:

"Independently of its general looseness and diffuseness, in many passages, amounting to the vaguest paraphrase, there are too many instances in which, not content with making his author say a good many things which he never did say, he palpably misinterprets him. There are many passages of much vigour and beauty; but even of these it has been said, and not unfairly, by a later translator, Dr. Trapp, that, where you most admire Dryden, you see the least of Virgil."—p. 6.

By far the most spirited and brilliant of the translations, is the rendering by Conington of the *Æneid* into the metre of Scott. From this translation the volume before us contains numerous extracts; but, stirring as they are, and admirably adapted to the narrative form of poetry, it is difficult to read any version of a classical epic in any briefer than the established decasyllabic metre without a sense of incongruity, which diminishes our satisfaction in the perusal. In the account of the Virgilian poems, Mr. Collins calls attention to the fact that they are all conspicuously framed on Greek models. The *Bucolica* are a direct imitation of the idyls of Theocritus.

"So closely has Virgil copied his model, that he even transplants the natural scenery of Sicily, employed by Theocritus, to his pastoral dreamland, which, otherwise, would seem to be localized on the banks of the Mincio in the neighborhood of his native Mantua."—p. 15.

The *Georgics* were suggested by Hesiod's *Works, and Days*, from whom, as well as from other Greek authors, the poet has borrowed largely. In portions of this poem will also be found an evident imitation of Lucretius, Virgil's immediate predecessor. The sketch, which is here given of the *Georgics*, though brief, is very interesting, and will answer a good purpose, should it inspire the reader with the wish to become better acquainted with a poem, which, though less generally studied than the *Æneid*, contains some of the noblest efforts of Virgil. Such are the beautiful legend of Orpheus and Eurydice, with which the poem closes, and the charming apostrophe to Italy in the second book, of which Mr. Collins appends a translation in a measure which appears to us better calculated to express the spirit of the hexameter than any of the varieties which modern innovators have sought to introduce.

"Lo! where rise thy giant cities, giant works of men of old,  
Towns on beetling crags piled heaven-ward by the hands of builders bold;  
Antique towers round whose foundations still the grand old rivers glide,  
And the double sea that girds thee, like a fence on either side.

Hail, thou fair and fruitful mother, land of ancient Saturn, hail!  
Rich in crops and rich in heroes! thus I dare to wake the tale  
Of thine ancient land and honor, opening founts that slumbered long,  
Rolling through our Roman towns the echoes of old Hesiod's song."

The *Æneid* is confessedly an imitation of the great epics of Homer. To this poem, as might be expected, the bulk of the volume before us is devoted ; in fact, the entire poem is given us in narrative form, interspersed with copious extracts, generally from Conington's translation, but occasionally from the older and better known version of Dryden. The narrative is very graphic, and, without unnecessary proximity, gives the reader a very clear and interesting account of the principal incidents of the great Latin epic. In some of the episodes, it goes largely into detail, as in the story of the passion of Dido, the description of the funeral games in honor of Anchises, and the descent into Hades. The description of *Æneas's* entrance into the mouth of the Tiber with his fleet, immediately after the last-named episode, is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the translation into Scott's metre with which the volume is embellished :

“ Now from the deep *Æneas* sees  
A mighty grove of glancing trees ;  
Embowered amid the silvan scene,  
Old Tiber winds his banks between,  
And in the lap of Ocean pours  
His gulfy stream, his sandy stores.  
Around, gay birds of diverse wing,  
Accustomed there to fly or sing,  
Were fluttering on from spray to spray,  
And soothing ether with their lay.”—p. 129.

In this passage the author subjoins a graceful allusion to Virgil's peculiar fondness for nature, distinguishing him above all the ancient poets.

“ Homer tells us of the rivers of the Troad, Simois, and Scamander—but it is only as they affect Hector or Achilles ; his heart is all the while with the combatants, not with the flowing river. Not so Virgil. With him we feel the cool breeze, we see the glancing shadow of the trees upon the river, we hear the flutter of the startled birds, and the long splash of the oars in the water. We sail with *Æneas* on a party of pleasure, rather than a voyage of conquest.”—p. 130.

The account of the last battle, in which *Æneas* slays Turnus, presents us with a picture almost equal in vividness to that in the poem itself. We see Turnus leaping from his chariot to rescue the burning town, and the ranks of the armies dividing before him, and *Æneas* himself abandoning the siege to encounter him. We see the meeting of the chiefs, the breaking of Turnus's sword, the Fury hovering over him and embarrassing his flight. Finally, we see the last effort of Turnus, the stone which he hurls in vain, the spear of *Æneas* which disables him ; we hear his manly and pathetic appeal, and witness the half-relenting of the conqueror suddenly transformed into a fresh access of rage on recognizing on his victim the belt of the slaughtered Pallas.

“ ‘Tis Pallas. Pallas guides the blade ;  
 From your cursed blood his injured shade  
 Thus takes the atonement due.’  
 Thus, as he spoke, his sword he drave,  
 With fierce and fiery blow,  
 Through the broad breast before him spread ;  
 The stalwart limbs grow cold and dead ;  
 One groan the indignant spirit gave,  
 Then sought the shades below.”—p. 173.

Without containing any thing remarkably novel, or profound, this little book conveys to the reader a very clear idea of the character of Virgil's poems, and is calculated to excite a fresh interest in their study.

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HISTORY.

1. *Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300.* By S. BIRCH, LL. D., etc. 16mo, pp. 202.
2. *Assyria from the Earliest Times to the fall of Nineveh.* By GEORGE SMITH. 16mo, pp. 202.
3. *Persia from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest.* By W. S. W. VAUX, M. A., F. R. S. 16mo, pp. 202. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

It is easy to see how valuable a series of this character might be made by careful statements of dates, which it is clear could have been obtained at least approximately, instead of confining us, as the first volume at least has done, to general statements as to the commencement and conclusion of each empire. Inscriptions have been deciphered which open to us the history of nations which date from the general dispersion, and which furnish indications to aid in the solution of problems which have agitated classical students for generations. Here we find clews to the chronology of pre-historic Greece; data which tend to fix the period of the War of Troy; enumerations of the contemporaneous inhabitants of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. The value of such dates as could have been obtained from these inscriptions could hardly fail to strike any inquirer; and the omission of them, in Dr. Birch's history of Egypt, deprives us of one of the chief benefits to be derived from such a work—its assistance in the study of comparative chronology.

For example, we are informed that Thothmes III. was one of the earlier sovereigns of the third or new empire, which extended from 1600 B. C. to 1110 B. C.; but from this statement we can only guess the probable period of his reign. The same may be said of Seti I., and Rameses II. and III. The important facts, which might have been ascertained from a little more exactness on these points, will appear from

the circumstance that, on one of the monuments of Thothmes III., he is said to have conquered the isles of the Danai, probably Crete and Cyprus, which contained manifold relics of Egyptian occupation. On a monument of Seti I. is inscribed, among a list of prisoners, the name of the Ionians or Javans. In the record of Rameses II.'s victory over the Khita or Hittites—perhaps the *xetioi* of Homer—we find, in the list of their allies, the Mysians, Lycians, and Dardanians, also the name of Ilion. Inscriptions in the reign of Menephtah—supposed to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus—mention the Sardinians, the Sicilians, the Tyseni (Etruscans), the Lycians, and the Achaïans. The records of Rameses III. mention an invasion by the maritime people from the Mediterranean, the Palusatie or Pelasgi, the Tsekkarin or Teucrians, the Shakalusha or Sicilians, the Tanau or Danaïans, and the Uashasha or Osci.

It appears that the Pelasgi had at that time colonized the islands of the Ægean and the shores of Caria, the Teucri, the northern coast of Asia Minor, and the Tursha, or Turseni, the western coasts of Italy. All this would have been far more satisfactory had the author given us the exact language of the monuments, and been at sufficient pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions, so that we might know when those nations of Homeric renown occupied the regions indicated by them.

We must also regret the carelessness and inaccuracy of some of the author's statements—as, for instance, representing the Ethiopians—the inhabitants of Nubia and Abyssinia—as negroes. Some of his conjectures, however, are curious, and worthy of consideration. The advent of Joseph into Egypt he supposes to have been during the sovereignty of one of the shepherd kings; and “the king who knew not Joseph” he explains by the return of the ancient dynasty who expelled the hated Hyksos, and would necessarily at once fear and hate their Hebrew allies.

We have given more space to the first volume of the series, for the reason, among others, that it is the one which possesses most interest. The second volume—*Assyria*—is principally an abridgment of the author's former work on Assyrian explorations, and is proportionally less interesting. In the matter of dates, it is, however, far more precise than the preceding volume, and is in that respect more valuable. Of the third—*Persia*—we cannot speak with commendation. Unlike its predecessors, it is not really taken from the monuments. It is little more than a compilation from previous histories, the accounts of the monuments amounting to little more than illustrations. We regret to remark so decided a decline in the successive numbers of a series which promised well at the outset, and trust that the volumes which may hereafter appear will carry out more fully the objects originally proposed.



## EDUCATION.

*A Complete Course in Geography, Physical, Industrial, and Political, with a Special Geography for each State.* By WILLIAM SWINTON. 4to, pp. 134. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman & Taylor. 1875.

If geography were to be taught in a series of cuts as numerous and varied as we can find in an ordinary primer, we should have here a work admirably adapted to its purpose. In other words, were the homœopathic system of infinitesimal doses as efficacious in communicating knowledge as it is considered by its adherents in the cure of diseases, this style of performance would be invaluable. We were about to add that, were it the object of tuition to impart a sufficient smattering on a variety of subjects to enable the pupil to talk fluently on each without the trouble of learning a great deal about any, this course might be expected to answer the purpose. But here we pause; for even the smattering acquired by the superficial lessons is expected to be correct as far as it goes, and even this doubtful merit we should hesitate to concede to the performance in question. For the student of this *Course*, if he repose faith in its teachings, is sure to carry away, not only the vaguest kind of impressions on all the subjects discussed, but positively erroneous notions on a great many. On the very first page of the work we have a specimen of would-be syllogistic reasoning which illustrates the character of the impressions generally conveyed:

"That which teaches us the relations between earth and man *must* be the most useful of studies. Geography teaches us the relations between earth and man; therefore, geography *must* be the most useful of studies."—p. 1.

Our author does not undertake to indicate the process of reasoning by which he arrives at either his major or his minor premise. He does not pretend to show *why* the relations between earth and man should be of more importance than any other study; nor in what sense geography can be said to teach those relations. We have hitherto supposed that the main object of this study was to learn the topography of the earth, and the distinctive characteristics of its different parts. The latter, we may remark, *en passant*, the performance in question does *not* teach, nor does it teach the former except by means of some very vague maps, which are not always so intelligible as they should be to the learner. These maps are, however, intended to be explained *orally*; so also is the system of physical geography which the teacher is to introduce with the colloquial questions: "Did you ever see a lake?" "Did you ever see a river?" "Did you ever see a mountain?" "Is the earth shaped like a ball?" and then he is to illustrate the question by running a knitting-needle through an orange to show how the earth revolves on its own axis; and, to further illustrate the principle, he may explain

how a soap-bubble, floating in the air, will revolve without the aid of a knitting-needle (p. 3). But the most remarkable fact which he is called upon to *explain* is that

"for thousands of years people supposed the earth to be a great, extended plain, but that three hundred and fifty years ago a navigator named Magellan sailed round, or circumnavigated the world, thus proving that the world is round."—p. 11.

The innocent pupil, who has probably never seen Behm's map, nor read Dante's *Divina Commedia*, will naturally suppose that the rotundity—which the teacher is particularly requested to explain means *roundness*—of the earth was a secret to mankind until the voyage of Magellan. It is to be hoped that the teacher, who is expected to use this Course, will make his definitions a little more clear to the learner than they are in the models before him. If, for instance, he repeats verbatim the following, it will be difficult for the pupil to know one portion of land from another:

"If the land juts out or projects from the main body so that the water almost surrounds it, it is called a peninsula—if the land is a point projecting into the sea, it is called a cape."—p. 8.

He must be a very intelligent pupil, indeed, who would infer, from these definitions, that there was any material distinction between a peninsula and a cape. But we must not lose sight of the four **IMPORTANT FACTS**—so the author styles them—which are to be impressed upon the pupil at the commencement of his course. And what are these important facts? Why, as follows:

"First important fact. The amount of heat in a place is connected with the climate of the place.

"Second important fact. The amount of rain in a place is connected with the climate of the place.

"Third important fact. The nature of the winds that prevail in a place is connected with the climate of the place.

"Fourth important fact. The character of the seasons in a place is connected with the climate of the place."—p. 14.

But the pupil, being very innocent, may want to know what is meant by the climate of a place. Here is the answer provided on the spot:

"Climate means weather conditions in regard to heat, moisture, wind, and seasons."—p. 14.

This is something like the showman's definition of a wild animal—he is wild when he will not let you come near him, and he will not let you come near him because he is wild.

After these important facts, it seems hardly worth while to notice such unimportant features as that "London is the largest city on the globe" (p. 96); "Windsor Castle has been for centuries the favorite residence for the kings and queens of England" (*ib.*); "Spain is neither progressive nor highly civilized" (p. 105); and "Arabia is mostly a

desert plateau" (p. 126). But we must have a word of admiration for the graphic description of Turkey in Europe, and the peculiar importance and accuracy of the *facts* selected for the pupil's information.

"Turkey is the only part of Europe where the women, on going out, muffle up their faces so as to conceal all but their eyes, and where men walk about in loose, flowing robes, and sit cross-legged."—p. 107.

After all, we possibly may have mistaken the objects of this work. It is no doubt intended for, and should be styled, "a Course of *play* at studying geography," and in that capacity would, probably, afford an excellent means of amusement for little girls who like to play at teaching their dolls, could we only first eliminate such inaccuracies of statement and definition as might be calculated to injuriously affect the youthful teachers themselves.

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*Butler's Pictorial History of the United States, with Maps and Illustrations.*

By JOHN A. STEWART. 16mo, pp. 300. Philadelphia: J. H. Butler & Co. 1875.

THE approach of the centennial anniversary of our national independence has awakened a fresh interest in the history of our country, which will be profitably utilized by works like the present. There are other reasons why the histories which have been so long in use in our schools should be superseded, or at least supplemented, by text-books which should embrace the events of the last few years. The crisis, through which our nation has so recently passed, is undoubtedly the most momentous that we have experienced in our whole national existence. But the influences which wrought this revolution had been at work for years; and, while the memory of the event is fresh in the minds of all, the mind of the young student is more easily directed to a study of those influences which may prove of untold value in directing his course in after life as a citizen and a republican.

For these reasons we are glad to bestow attention on such works, which, although intended for the young, are well worthy the attention of maturer minds. There is no department whose books require to be so carefully and thoroughly investigated as in that of education—for it is in childhood that impressions are the most readily received, and the most tenaciously retained. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the critic to examine with particular care this branch of literature—happy when, as in the present instance, he is able to speak in terms of commendation.

The object of the new History has been to place succinctly before the student the sequence of events which combined in the first instance to unite the American colonies into one homogeneous nation, and to maintain the national unity amid circumstances the most adverse. With

this view, the narrative is divided into distinct epochs; and, while concisely treating those which have been rendered familiar by previous text-books, enlarges on the later periods, of which comparatively little has been written. After a brief preliminary account of the early discoveries and settlements, it proceeds with a fuller statement of the formation and growth of the different colonies, and shows that the wide diversities of interests and feelings which characterized them formed, in the first instance, a strong bar to any unity of sentiment and action that would tend to strengthen them among themselves, and weaken the influence of the mother country. Some strong external influence was required to consolidate and assimilate them; and this influence was unconsciously furnished by a leading British statesman.

"When, therefore, the great conflict with the French came, and Pitt urged the colonies to a closer union, and advised the raising of large bodies of troops, he was unconsciously leading up to that very consolidation of the colonial strength which was soon to enable them to resist the tyranny of the mother country itself."  
—p. 100.

Not only did the French War teach the American colonies their strength, and prepare them for united action in the future, but it furnished to the British Government the plea for the system of taxation which ultimately roused the people to resistance. This, however, only accelerated a result which was in itself inevitable.

"The true motive for separation was this: the interests and commonweal of the thirteen colonies had become too grand and overshadowing to be managed by any others than themselves."—p. 102.

The third section of the book is devoted to the War of the Revolution, and relates tersely and clearly the events of the seven years, giving the history of each year separately. The fourth treats of the development of the States into a power under the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. With Madison commences the fifth period, that of the war with England. The sixth shows the extension of the national territory from the presidency of Monroe to that of Tyler, terminating with the annexation of Texas, the proceeding which formed the germ of our recent national convulsion. The first result was the war with Mexico, under Polk, which forms the seventh period of this history. Out of the acquisition of territory, which was the result of this war, grew the agitation of the slavery question, which distracted the country during the eighth period, extending through the administration of Buchanan. Thence the bitter feeling which culminated in the civil war. Of this war the ninth division of the book gives a full and graphic account. The concluding division treats of events subsequent to the civil war, bringing the history of the United States down to the present days.

The judicious distribution and combination of the principal events

in our history into separate periods, and the lucid manner in which those events are set forth, and the bearing of each indicated, will render this work valuable not only as a school-book, but also as a family book of reference. For the teacher's purposes it is well adapted by the system of questions accompanying each chapter, also review questions, and maps illustrating the topography of the country at the various stages of its history, as well as our principal battle-fields. In short, the whole plan is calculated to facilitate and render agreeable the study of history on the principle recommended by the author himself :

"Read history as you would a newspaper, and for the same purpose—namely, to get the information it contains. Do not attempt simply to memorize the language of the writer, ignoring the general knowledge conveyed. Read thoughtfully and understandingly, and you will soon acquire a taste for the most pleasant of studies."—p. 6.

The illustrations form an important and novel feature, being particularly calculated to indicate the development of the country during the first century of its existence. We see here the different colonies as they existed in the time of the royal grants, extensive, and thinly peopled; New York embracing the present State of Vermont, Georgia including within its territory the States of Alabama and Mississippi, and Virginia overspreading the entire region between the Mississippi and the Ohio. Then we see the new States gradually carved out of this region, the new territory added to our boundaries, and the first States formed out of these, until we arrive at the latest, the State of Colorado. Other illustrations represent the development of the country in the scientific and useful arts. This element in a book of instruction for the young is not to be disregarded. There is no faculty by which the mind of the youthful student is more effectually reached than sight, and a lesson taught in a picture will often, not only make an enduring impression on the memory, but facilitate the retention of what is imparted through the ordinary media of instruction.

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*The Satires of A. PERSIUS FLACCUS.* Edited by BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph. D. (Göttingen), LL. D. 16mo, pp. 231. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

THE classical reader, whose object is mere literary diversion, will derive little satisfaction from the perusal of Persius's satires; the obscurity and inelegance of the style, the harshness of the versification, and the familiar slang of the diction, are calculated to repel him from the task of extracting the gold which he may find, in a literary point of view, insufficient to remunerate his labors. In another respect, however, the Satires are worth studying, for few writers have given so vivid and truthful a picture of the daily life

of the ancient Romans. What Persius saw he photographed, and his descriptions, though not clothed in the elegant banter of Horace, or the fervid eloquence of Juvenal, are, perhaps, for that very reason, better calculated to place before us the society, the vices, and the peculiarities of a by-gone day.

The editor has done his best to remove the difficulties which attend the study of this author by rather "copious" explanatory notes—"notes" which amount almost to a translation into English of the original text. It would have been more satisfactory, however, had he retained in the text the distribution of the dialogue whose absence renders some of the Satires not a little puzzling.

It is certain that Persius was one of the most popular satirists of his day. All the contemporary writers extol him to the skies, while, by the early Christian fathers, who set more value on pure morals than pure Latinity, he was elevated to such a pedestal, that it is not strange if, in the subsequent reaction, he should have received less than justice. Nisard disposes of him with the sneering question, "*Y a-t-il profit à lire Perse?*" and Scaliger with the terse remarks, "*Non pulchra habet sed in eum pulcherrima possumus scribere,*" and "*Au Perse de Cusaubon la saulce vaut mieux que le poisson.*" Still, an author, who has so thoroughly illustrated the character of his age, is not to be so lightly set aside, and the editor would be entitled to our thanks if he succeeded in rendering Persius less distasteful to the general student, and less difficult of comprehension. Perhaps we ought to be satisfied on this point, since Prof. Gildersleeve presents us *Göttingen* in a parenthesis between his "Ph. D." and "LL. D." We are not, however, but rather are reminded, by the circumstance, of a line in Persius, which we beg leave to transcribe here as not an unsuitable motto for the new text-book:

"Quis expedit *psittaco* suum *chaire*."\*

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*English into French; a Book of Practice in French Conversation, being designed to accompany any speaking French Grammar.* By FRANCIS S. WILLIAMS, A. M. 16mo, pp. 122. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1875.

WERE we to take the first three words of the above title by themselves, we should have a pretty accurate idea of its real character. It is literally *English into French*, that is, an exact translation of a variety of English sentences into corresponding French words, retaining the English idiom and the uniform English construction. For instance, "I have not been well all this week" is rendered "*Je n'ai pas été très bien toute cette semaine*" (p. 47). "I met him not long ago" is "*Je l'ai rencontré il n'y a pas long temps*" (*ib.*). "He has not been more than

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\* Prol. 8.

eight days ill" becomes "Il n'a pas été plus de huit jours malade" (p. 61). A party are conversing on the subject of an eclipse, and one of them inquires, "Visible à Boston?"

Now we will not waste time in discussing whether or not these expressions are strictly grammatical, for a work which professes to teach the accomplishment of French conversation is expected to do something more than avoid solecisms. But there is one fact of which we can assure Mr. Williams, namely, that the above phrases, and a large number of others which he puts into the mouths of his conversationalists, are not used in French conversation. This latter accomplishment, it may be suggested, consists of something more than a mere translating of words from one language into another, which can be as effectively done by the simple aid of a dictionary containing the usual idioms. It is the expression or rather the interchange of ideas in choice language, elegant *nuances* or shades of expression for which the French is distinguished above all other tongues, and, beyond all, such a construction of familiar phrases as is usually found among well-bred and well-educated French people. Let an American, visiting Paris, put the question "Visible à Boston?" or answer an interrogatory with the words "Non, ma parole" (p. 61), and, however energetically he might justify his expressions by the authority of French conversation books, or the rules of French grammar, he may rest assured of never for a moment being mistaken for a Frenchman or even for a French scholar.

A Frenchman endeavoring to learn English by the aid of this book would not fare much better, at least if his object were to acquire the habit of conversation in respectable English. For example, the proverb "*le jeu n'en (sic) vaut pas la chandelle.*" is translated "it don't pay," an expression which is not even English, to say nothing of its slangy character. In fact, this book, like most of its kind, intended to impart facility in French conversation without the aid of a teacher, is a delusion and a snare, and is only worthy of notice as a specimen of the too common tendency at the present day to condense into the space of a few lessons that which is in itself the work of years, and to sacrifice finish and accuracy to a foolish desire for mere expedition.

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## APPENDIX—INSURANCE, GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

1. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Part II. Life and Accident Insurance.* Boston, 1875.
2. *Reports of Various Suits against Certain Insurance Companies.*
3. *Foreclosure Suits against Mortgagers by Insurance Companies.*

As the defective memory of the public is, unfortunately, but too well known, it may be necessary for us to repeat once more that no criticism we have ever made was intended to call into question the utility of life insurance. None have had more faith in its influence and fruits than we; nor has that faith undergone any change. Those who think that we are opposed to life insurance because we have criticised some life companies, may just as logically regard us as opposed to books because we have criticised a certain class of books; or regard us as opposed to education, and in favor of ignorance, because we have criticised certain educational institutions. For every one book we have commended we have criticised at least a dozen as more or less defective, declaring many to be utterly worthless, and condemning not a few as pernicious. And the number of educational institutions which we have criticised are equally large in proportion to those we have commended. Yet who will say that we dislike books, or education? We think we may claim, without affectation, that no one sets a higher value on either than we. It is only the bad books, and bad schools and colleges, that we oppose; and our feeling in regard to insurance companies, especially the life companies, is one of good-will or ill-will, on precisely similar grounds.

Not only have we no inclination to oppose companies which we believe fair-minded, just, and honorable; it affords us sincere pleasure to find that such are rewarded with public confidence and prosperity. Nay, more; there is nothing in our power which we would not do in a legitimate way to contribute to that prosperity, because we feel that in doing so we have a hand in the dispensation of justice, and in the illustration of the good, old precept, that "honesty is the best policy." In proof that this is no new feeling on our part, we can refer the reader to any article we have ever written or published on the subject. Those who take the trouble to examine will find that, in not a single instance, in the period of twelve or fourteen years during which we have been discussing the subject in these pages, have we failed to present to our readers the bright side of the picture; or to show that, however reprehensible the conduct of certain companies may have been, there are other companies that fully vindicate the highest claims ever made in favor of life insurance by those capable of impartially estimating the amount of good it has done, and is constantly doing.

It is in pursuance of this course that we now turn our attention to the records of companies like the Manhattan Life, the New England Mutual Life, the Mutual Benefit Life, etc. Thus, from an abstract of the official reports of the Manhattan since its inauguration, now before us, we are pleased to extract the figures for the last six or seven years, as showing how steady the progress of that company has been, even during the great business panic :

Year.	No. Pol. Iss'd.	Amount Insured.	Receipts.	Dividend Declared.	Losses Paid.	Assets.
1868.....	3,601	12,090,244	2,265,340 29	223,235 00	481,835 00	5,367,537 59
1869.....	2,532	7,869,818	2,339,067 22	274,534 00	451,492 08	6,294,529 46
1870.....	2,001	5,332,246	2,276,171 71	431,371 00	530,013 57	6,924,116 39
1871.....	1,844	4,901,469	2,336,539 43	410,947 00	476,606 42	7,695,701 75
1872.....	1,701	4,986,969	2,390,252 68	377,153 00	573,011 31	8,341,154 92
1873.....	1,746	5,374,713	2,128,071 05	358,845 00	679,187 16	8,923,852 29
1874.....	1,778	5,290,360	2,115,702 15	341,673 00	594,234 00	9,588,149 63

This tells its own story; and it is one that is well fortified by the fact that, in the last Report of the superintendent of the New York Insurance Department, the surplus of the Manhattan amounts to nearly two millions (\$1,930,000.00). But, in order to appreciate this, it is necessary to compare it with the surplus of some company that makes much higher pretensions than the Manhattan. Take the Equitable, for instance. The latter company proclaims that its assets are over \$25,000,000; the former claims less than one-half that amount; yet, if the curious reader will turn to the Massachusetts Report, Table A, p. xviii, he will find that the surplus of the Equitable, with all its boasting, is considerably less than half the above amount of the Manhattan, namely, \$728,421. Moreover, he will only have to turn to the next column in order to see that the surplus claimed by the Equitable for last year is but little more than half that claimed by the same company for the preceding year—a fact which would show that, after all, the mortgage foreclosure business (by some called “the Equitable pawn-office department”) has not proved quite as profitable as might be supposed.

Turning to the same Report, we find that the surplus of the New England Mutual is very nearly equal to that of all the other Massachusetts companies put together, namely, \$1,368,376, which is also nearly twice the surplus of the Equitable. But let us view the results accomplished by the New England Mutual in another light. From its last report to the directors we extract the following:

"The result of the business of the year is an increase to the funds of \$1,474,-120.82, after allowing, for claims not due, \$102,200. The market value of the securities, on the first of January, 1875, was \$219,771.56 more than the cost upon the company's books. This item is not used in the computation for surplus, and is valuable only as showing that the standard of the company's investments has been rigidly adhered to. The amount of premium returned in 1874 was \$506,-835.23, an increase of \$37,214.19 over the amount returned in the preceding year."

There is nothing suggestive of panic in this. No impartial, intelligent person, who examines the statistical tables in the Reports of the insurance departments of the States of New York and Massachusetts, marking the record which it bears in each, will be disposed to question the truth of what we mark in italics in the following:

"In conclusion, the Directors submit that the operations of this company during a period of thirty-one years have resulted in material good to the community, by the fact of 52,000 persons having been insured to the amount of \$143,000,000, and the payment in death-claims and endowments of more than \$9,000,000. Its members have had returned to them more than \$6,000,000 in surplus, the whole forming a record which, it is believed, is a guarantee of continued prosperity."

The Mutual Benefit is an institution of which New Jersey may well be proud. In the Massachusetts Report it stands higher than the company which boasts of surpassing all other companies in the world, namely, the Mutual Life, of which the very pious and very honest Winston is President. Thus, the latter company claims to have assets amounting to \$70,000,000, whereas, the former estimates its assets at less than half that sum (\$30,533,429.94). But, turning to the Massachusetts Report, we find that the surplus of the Mutual Benefit is considerably more than that of the Mutual Life, the difference between \$3,758,676 and \$3,455,667. Those who remember how expert Winston is at multiplication will be likely to think that the latter is rather a small sum to represent \$70,000,000 "cash."

The surplus of the New York Continental is considerably larger, in proportion, than that of the Mutual Life. Thus, the former estimates its assets at only a little more than six and a half millions (\$6,555,828), and its surplus appears in the Massachusetts Report as \$370,625. If the respective ages of the two companies be taken into account, and those of their respective policy-holders in connection with certain other data, it will be found, by any one capable of examining the facts, that the Continental Life has really a more ample surplus than the Mutual Life.

The American Life, of Philadelphia, continues to maintain its high reputation for integrity and fair dealing. Its asset pile of four millions seems to afford ample guarantee for all just claims on its exchequer, and we have yet to learn that the widow or the orphan has ever had any real cause of complaint against its management.

Of all the western or southwestern companies, the St. Louis Life is undoubtedly that which combines most of the best characteristics of

an insurance institution. Moreover, the fact is so generally recognized throughout the southwest that the company can afford to be comparatively indifferent to the business extending beyond its own broad domain. Its paid-up capital of a million, its seven and a half million of assets, and its management, at once skilful, shrewd, and straightforward, render it abundantly satisfactory to all who know it.

We have before us another lofty assurance of "Reform in life insurance." The head and front of the great thing, which is to revolutionize life insurance in America, is Mr. Sheppard Homans, formerly actuary of the Mutual Life, and the *alter ego* of the well-known, very pious, and very upright president of that imposing corporation. Great people sometimes quarrel; and the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, for the possession of the beautiful Briseis, was a mere tempest in a teapot compared to that between Winston and Homans. The latter was worsted in the fight, but, fortunately, not slain; he was merely unseated by his charger, and thrown violently into the Mutual cesspool, the odor of which, it is said, still clings to him. But reformers in general have to pass through severe ordeals.

Whether this will justify the conclusion that the new "Reform in life insurance" will prove a real or spurious reform, may, perhaps, be regarded as an open question. For our own part, we confess we have no faith in it; moreover, we think that the day will come—a day not far distant—when our readers will have as little faith in it as we have at this moment. It is true that, although we pretend to have some idea of the properties of figures, and to have given some attention to Kepler as well as to Laplace on the theory of probabilities, we do not claim to have more than a moderate knowledge of the sort of addition and multiplication which seems to be the sheet-anchor of Mr. Homans in his great "Reform." We are never ashamed to admit that there are a great many things of which we are ignorant. Perhaps, that under consideration is one of those things. For the satisfaction of those who may doubt the fact, we subjoin an extract from a well-considered article on the same subject, which we find in the American Exchange and Review for September:

"The new project is thus shown as a payment for a single year, impinged on a whole life hazard, without the acquisitions of compound interest. It simply takes the chance of annual death—does not provide for a \$1,000 certain payment. The policy-holder, after paying 25 years, finds, when 60 years old, that he has contributed but \$31.83 toward his \$1,000, after taking the risk of the office not being able to come up to its tabular promise. The plan indifferent, not afraid immediately after the first year, grows desperate toward the last. The cost of contingencies grows fearfully in the progress of the policy-holder toward old age. Impending death and impending disaster compete as to which shall get ahead of the other, and the non-reserve premium, now far greater than the uniform rate, makes the insurance cost more the less it is worth, and the policy-holder is driven from his position. In the paper in which the plan is submitted, there is the usual stuff about the

exactions and costliness of legitimate life insurance. It would, indeed, be marvellous if there were not some ground for criticism and condemnation in respect to these. Life insurance is not perfect, and never will be. Why it is not better than it is, is a question for those to answer *who have aided to make it what it is*. But, after all is said, it has, in a general sense, done the work it agreed to do. It has fulfilled its contract; and it has fulfilled it in conformity to the highest and best legal interpretation, that the life policy is not a contract of mere indemnity—in fact, not a contract of indemnity at all.”

Now, leaving the reader to form his own opinion of the “new plan,” we proceed to glance at the *modus operandi* of some companies, not unknown to fame of a certain order.

We commence with that wonderful institution known as the American Popular Life. About this company we have felt some real curiosity. Its announcements hold forth its system as the latest wonder of the world. It is working a great revolution—“not merely reform”—its system is “founded upon the bed-flock of immutable law,” while all others are “based upon the shifting sands of capricious and unreliable assumptions.” It “stands alone, and takes pride in its isolation.” It is “the only Life Insurance Company in the world” that has done a great variety of things which “it does not esteem any reproach;” it boasts of its “hard-pan method” in a manner which would suggest extensive familiarity with the dialect of the mining districts. At a future day we may think it worth while to examine a little into this wonderful system, which is supposed to have made this company a “prophet’s gourd of magic growth;” and if, as in the case of the gourd, we should happen to find a worm at the root, why it will not be the first instance in which flaming and boastful proclamations have been used to astound the public. At present, however, we will content ourselves with investigating the results, as shown by its last annual statement to the superintendent of the Insurance Department. Its assets are returned as \$686,172.18; its liabilities as \$488,021.00; its surplus as \$198,151.18. Among these assets we find “loans on stock collaterals,” which collaterals consist of mortgages in the far West, and stock which, at the market value as stated, is worth but a small amount in excess of the sums loaned; “cash in office of company;” “cash deposited in banks and trust companies,” which is, of course, entirely under the control of the company, and, if actually a deposit at the time of report, may easily disappear the next day; “accrued interest and rents;” “premium notes and loans, *in any form*, on interest taken for premiums;” “deferred and unpaid premiums.” In other words, a series of uncollected and, for aught we know, uncollectable, debts. Now, let us see, on the company’s own showing, to what sum this class of assets amounts. We quote directly from the report:

"Loans on stock collaterals .....	\$26,513.03
Premium notes and loans .....	112,361.17
Cash in office and bank .....	118,328.14
Deferred and unpaid premiums .....	126,637.07
Accrued interest and rents .....	17,755.27

Which, taken together, amount to.....\$401,594.68"

This, when deducted from \$688,172.18, which it claims as its total gross assets, leaves a balance of \$284,577.50 against \$488,021.00 of liabilities. In other words, were it not for what may justly be styled "fancy assets," the American Popular Life, instead of a surplus, would show an impairment of its capital to the amount of at least \$203,443.50. It is to be wished that, in this respect, the Popular Life did "stand alone," although it would have little reason to "take pride in its isolation."

But, unhappily, there are many companies which are to be found in the same category. The Brooklyn Life estimates its assets by millions, but, its liabilities being also extensive, the surplus which it professes to have for its policy-holders is not quite so large as that of the American Popular, being stated as \$190,531.04. Now, this company has in "premium notes and loans" \$449,431.77, "deferred and unpaid premiums" \$61,862.74, and "accrued (and, of course, unpaid) interest" \$53,719.86, making, altogether, \$565,014.37. Why, the first item alone of these "fancy assets" is more than enough to extinguish the nominal surplus, and the total, if deducted from the gross assets, would leave a deficiency of \$374,483.33. The Brooklyn Life is by no means so moderate in its figures when not compelled to verify its statements. We have before us a statement purporting to be from its balance-sheet of December 31, 1874, but intended to be published in an insurance journal, and not to be sent to the superintendent. In this it coolly adds two items, viz., "premiums unpaid and in course of transmission," \$14,769.93, and "ledger balances," \$14,904.00, making its gross assets \$29,673.93 more than are returned in the Report, and representing its surplus as \$216,082.80, or \$15,551.76 more than it was there stated; adding the information that, out of this surplus, a dividend is to be declared to the holders of participating policies. Does not this look very like "robbing Peter to pay Paul?"

Of the assets of the Knickerbocker Life, the amount represented by "premium notes and loans in any form on interest taken for premiums" is \$3,001,427.83 (!), an amount abundantly sufficient to swamp the comparatively insignificant surplus of \$207,899.87. But Old Knick has plenty more assets of the same kind under its new plan. "Deferred and unpaid premiums," \$345,288.36; "accrued interest and rents," \$247,277.17. What remains, after deducting these fancy assets, but a capital impaired to the extent of \$3,386,093.39 (!).

The Metropolitan Life—whose surplus, as returned by itself, is \$207,899.87—to obtain that result, had to count among its assets “deferred and unpaid premiums,” \$403,739.27, and “premium notes and loans,” \$461,177.13. Either of these items will suffice to swallow up the surplus, but, when united, they amount to an impairment of \$656,016.51.

The important fact to be kept in mind is that the class of investments, which are returned as assets by certain companies, are in many instances no assets at all—mere uncollected debts, which may, or may not, be collectable, but represent no available funds immediately applicable to the claims of the policy-holders. As to the item “cash in bank,” it is the least reliable of all. Such large amounts of uninvested cash look in themselves suspicious—cash is so easily borrowed for a few days, and deposited perhaps in the bank whence it is borrowed, to make up a large gross amount and enable the company to return an encouraging surplus. Were these questionable items expunged from their list of assets, the above companies, and many others, would stand before the world with an impaired capital instead of a nominal surplus. Yet they declare dividend after dividend, and will probably continue so to do until—but we leave the reader to finish the sentence.

We see that the three most plethoric companies in this city are, as usual, busy with the mortgage foreclosures which they appear to find so profitable. The Mutual Life has, since May 1st, instituted foreclosure suits on property on Ninth Street, on Fourteenth Street, on Eighty-eighth Street, and on Bleecker Street. The Equitable Life is at work on Thirty-seventh, Thirty-fifth, and Twenty-fifth Streets; and the New York Life on Sixtieth Street, One Hundred and Twenty-seventh, and One Hundred and Fourteenth Streets. On this last street are situated the long rows of houses on which the New York Life has mortgages of \$6,000 each, and some of which, at least, have failed to bring ten thousand dollars on the foreclosure sale. These companies have chosen their time well so as to secure possession of the houses at a price considerably beneath their value; but we must be allowed a word of commiseration for the unfortunate second mortgagees who have invested their funds on the assurance that the companies never loaned money on property less than twice—in some instances three times—the value of the amount invested, and who now have the pleasant prospect of seeing their property sold over their heads, and their security reduced to the personal liability of a perhaps insolvent bondsman.

The summer months, being the period of vacation, afford the companies but few opportunities of figuring, as usual, in the courts. Among those who have continued to provide us with interesting questions in litigation, the American Popular takes a distinguished place. This company, in a policy issued to one Campbell, who was



supposed to be not altogether temperate in his habits, inserted a clause that the insurance should be paid only on condition that, in the opinion of the "surgeon-in-chief" of the company, the party assured did not die from intemperance, nor from any disease produced or aggravated thereby. It appears that the surgeon-in-chief was a stockholder in the company, and, therefore, had a decided interest in deciding adversely to any claimant, which fact was, however, carefully concealed from the assured. Of course, that learned functionary refused to express an opinion that the assured did not die of intemperance. However, the court held that the concealment of his interest by the company vitiated the condition, so the latter, in this instance, will fail to profit by its reticence. Will it hereafter include its peculiar ingenuity at condition-making among the numerous facts which, in its published circular, entitled "The Ideas of the American Popular upon Life Insurance," it proclaims that "it does not consider a reproach?"

The case of Garber against the Globe Mutual Life presents a curious instance of the promptness with which some life companies accept premiums as contrasted with their indisposition to pay losses. In this case the assured, a resident of St. Louis, had taken out a policy for \$5,000 in favor of his wife. The policy provided that the assured should not reside south of the 33d degree of latitude, between the first of July and the first of November, and that the non-payment of the premium, when due, should effect a forfeiture of the policy. It appears to have been the custom of the company's agent at St. Louis, to allow thirty days for the payment of the premium after it had become due, and Mr. Garber had himself been allowed that time for the payment of some of the premiums on this policy. Some time before his death, he went to reside in New Orleans, which was beyond the prohibited limit, but the agent had notice of the fact, for, in July, 1872, he sent thither, for collection, a note given by Mr. Garber, December 14, 1871, for the premium due November 1, 1871. On the 1st of November, 1872, the agent directed to Mr. Garber, at New Orleans, a notice that his premium was due. Mr. Garber was at that time ill with the yellow fever. His wife telegraphed to a friend at St. Louis to pay the premium, and, on the eleventh of November, it was paid, and a renewal receipt issued. The assured died later in the same day. The company, it seems, defend the claim on the policy, on the ground that the assured resided within the prohibited district, and that the payment of the premium was not made on the day, notwithstanding the agent's waiver of both conditions, by receiving the premium and renewing the policy, with full knowledge of the assured's residence in New Orleans, and by habitually holding receipts for thirty days, and accepting the premium within or even after that time. We have not been apprised of the result of this litigation. We can scarcely doubt, however, that, after

so distinct a waiver of both of its conditions, the company will be held to the fulfilment of its policy.

We will now take up some of the fire companies' reports, and see how they compare with those of the life companies. Here we have the Adriatic returning a surplus of \$21,217.27; but, when we come to examine its assets, we find that \$22,032.41, a sum exceeding this alleged surplus, consists of "premiums in course of collection," or as Superintendent Chapman's statistical tables bluntly state it, "premiums unpaid"—and that \$5,280.86 is "interest due and accrued." If we deduct these items—amounting together to \$27,313.27—from the aggregate amount of assets reported, \$303,397.42, we reduce them to \$276,084.15, over six thousand dollars less than its liabilities, which, on its own showing, are \$282,180.15. On looking over its list of stock collaterals, by the way, we cannot but remark the very small margin of security too often left: \$1,000.00 loaned on stock whose market value is \$1,112.00; \$2,000.00 on stock valued at \$2,500.00, etc., etc.

The Arctic returns a surplus of \$12,065.61; but the portion of its assets which consists of uncollected debts, such as "premiums in course of collection," "salvage on losses already paid," "rents due and accrued," "due for re-insurances," amounts in the aggregate to \$15,577.20, or over \$3,500.00 in excess of its surplus, so that, without the aid of these items, its assets would fall short of its liabilities by that amount, just as its income last year fell short of its expenses. We have already called attention to the fact that the expenditures of this company, in the year 1874, exceeded its income in the handsome sum of \$14,863.76, which, however, did not prevent its declaring the usual semi-annual dividend.

The Brewers and Maltsters Fire, which has recently been extensively eulogised in the insurance journals as "a wonderful instance of success in fire-underwriting," has, on its own showing, a surplus of only \$1,455.90 out of an aggregate of gross assets returned at \$271,632.05; but, when we find that, of these assets, \$40,639.92 consists of unpaid premiums, \$26,963.98 of "bills receivable, not matured," and \$15,000.00 of "salvage on losses already paid," we rather feel anxious about this wonderful young company. Take out these three items of "possible future assets," as they might with propriety be called, and we are confronted with an impairment of \$82,603.90, in which the poor little offset of \$1,455.90 is swallowed up as in a vast abyss.

The surplus returned by the Gebhard is \$2,477.23. Why, its unpaid premiums amount to \$2,868.69, and its "rents due and accrued" to \$3,558.84. Deduct these items from its so-called "available assets," and there remains a deficiency of \$3,950.30. The Irving, in like manner, whose surplus is returned as \$14,860.16, has, in "premiums in course of collection," \$14,961.92. This item alone extinguishes the

so-called surplus. So, also, the Relief, which has, in "interest due and accrued," \$4,500.00, "premiums in course of collection," \$15,358.07, and "bills receivable," \$750.00; so that its uncollected debts aggregate \$20,608.07, while its nominal surplus is only \$15,163.34; of course, this is equivalent to an impairment to the extent of \$5,444.73.

The Home Fire presents an imposing figure in a suit by one Kelly in the State of Kansas. It appears that its policy contained a clause that, if the premises should become vacant or unoccupied, and so remain, with the knowledge of the assured, without notice to and consent of the company in writing, the policy should be void. At the time of the fire the insured premises had been vacant thirty-three days, but the proprietor was endeavoring to let them. The company claimed that this constituted a violation of the policy; but it was promptly overruled by the court, which decided that the clause applied only to cases of abandonment, or a vacation for an unreasonable length of time, and not to a mere temporary vacancy, such as might occur while one tenant was moving out and another moving in.

A still more extraordinary excuse for refusing to pay a loss on insured property, it seems, has been set up by the Columbia Fire, in an action brought by the firm of Cheek & Co., in the State of Tennessee. The ground was that, in their application, the assured had represented themselves to be the owners of the property insured, that no other party was interested therein, and that it was not leased or rented. It appeared that some years previously the insured property had been sold for taxes, and seized by the purchaser under such tax sale. This sale had been declared void, and Cheek and the company entitled to the possession, although, during the ejectment suit which they were obliged to bring, the property was temporarily placed in the hands of a receiver, who rented it to Cheek & Co. themselves, until the determination of the action. The curious part is, that Cheek & Co., not exactly understanding how, under these circumstances, they ought to answer the interrogatories to the application, made a full statement of the facts to the agent of the company, who filled in the answers himself, with full knowledge of the facts. We are glad to see that, in this case, the defence was unsuccessful, the court holding that a mere pretended title in another did not affect the truth of the applicant's answer, and that the application having been made out by the company's agent, with full knowledge of the fact, his failing to assert them did not nullify the policy.

To appreciate the audacity of this defence, it should be remembered that these applications and answers are not intended to be submitted to the company before issuing the policy, but that the agent himself delivers the policy if satisfied with the answers to the application. So that, in instances of this character, nobody can possibly be misled. We

should think that the term "Cheek" was, in this instance, more justly applicable to the company than to the insured party whom it denoted.

We might continue to multiply these instances, but enough have been given to show that, in many companies—fire as well as life—were it not for their practice of returning uncollected debts, loose cash, and doubtful securities, as so many available assets, their returns would show an impaired capital instead of a nominal surplus. Let those, who remember the ruin wrought among the fire companies by the conflagrations in Chicago and Boston, lay these facts to heart, and, before accepting the returns of any company as evidence of its solvency, look warily into the composition of its assets, and trust those only whose substantial investments (those of whose genuineness there can be no question) return a decided surplus above their full list of liabilities.

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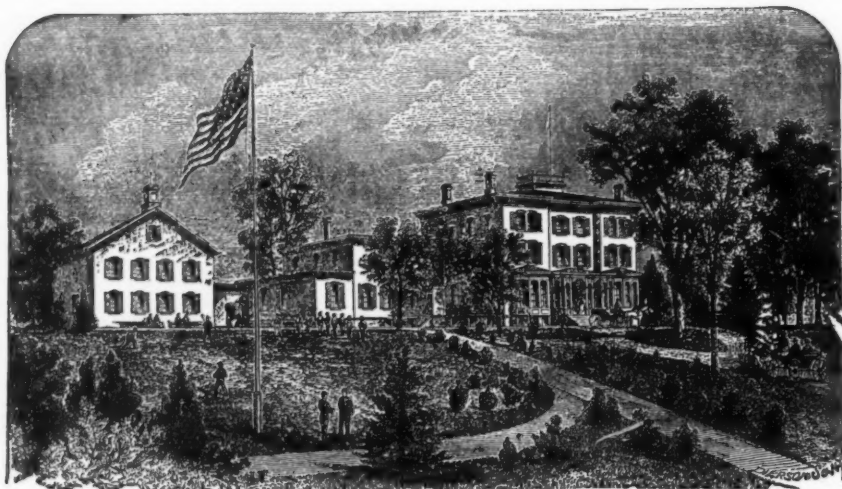
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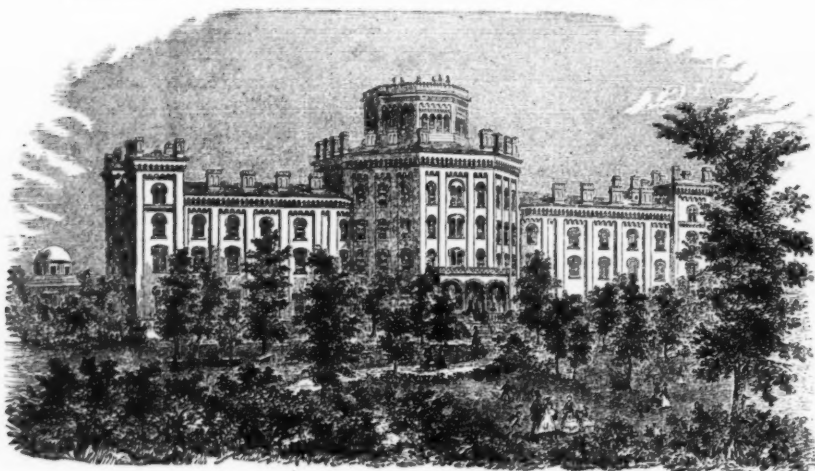
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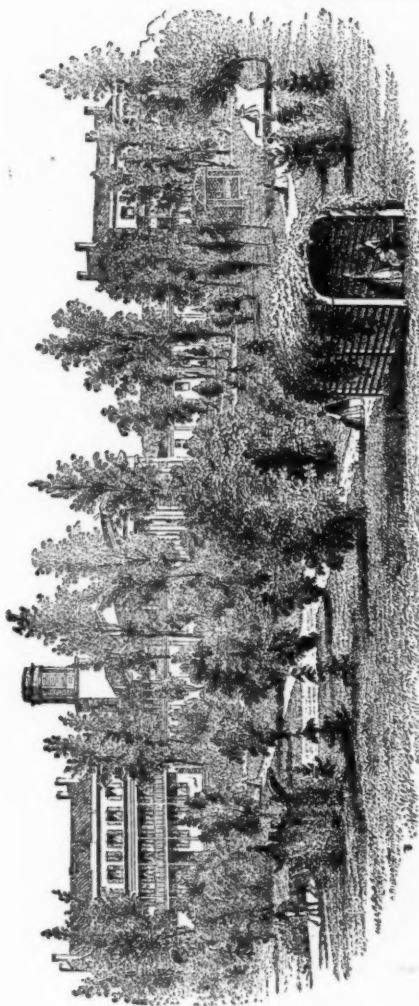
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### REFERENCES:

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## Extracts from Reviews and Notices of last (March) Number, from Leading Journals.


\* \* \* "The most remarkable paper is 'Our New York Scientists and their Remarkable Discoveries,' which reviews Professor Chandler and his relations to the American Institute, and is authority for a statement that there is scarcely a restaurant of any extent in the city to which there is not attached a scientist of the class alluded to as 'analytical chemists.' "—*New York World*.

\* \* \* "The paper on 'Our New Scientists' fairly takes the hide off, in its exposures of the blunders and foolishness of Prof. Chandler, the president of the New York Board of Health." \* \* \*—*Boston Globe*.

\* \* \* "Our New York Scientists and their Remarkable Discoveries,' in which some of the Gothamite pretenders to science are dealt with not one bit too severely. These persons, chiefly professing to be the votaries and the masters of chemistry, have succeeded in obtaining notoriety rather than reputation by much pretentious display, but the mischief is that sometimes they succeed in obtaining the occupancy of chairs, among the faculty of universities, and very frequently trade upon this position. The reviewer strongly denounces, giving illustrative examples, and not hesitating to mention names, in which some of these 'professors,' acting as analyzing chemists, give certificates to a variety of the inventions and modifications, from tooth-powder to meat extracts, from pomatum to gas, from pills to milk, from hair restorers to 'metaline' as a substitute for lubricators in machinery. No matter how small, or how quackish the article, it can be and constantly is certificated as a great boon to the world, on payment of the fee for analyzing, and in some instances the person doing this may be found to have a pecuniary and proprietary interest in the article thus highly recommended." \* \* \*—*Philadelphia Press*.

\* \* \* "In the March number of the National Quarterly Review, Dr. Sears critically examines the educational systems of Germany and France, as set forth in the reports of Victor Cousin and Mathew Arnold, and also institutes a comparison with certain American universities, colleges, etc., not at all favorable to the latter. One of the first points of criticism he makes is the ungracious sensitiveness of American institutions to wholesome censure; closely connected with which is the equally harmful vanity which seeks the adulation of the press and public, regardless of truth. Evidently the plain-spoken editor of the Quarterly has felt the indignation of sorely-wounded educators whom he has failed to appreciate at their self-rate value. This is not to be wondered at, as we judge from the style of criticism applied to certain well-known educators in this article. Nevertheless, it is evident that the purpose of the critic is essentially good and useful." \* \* \*—*Utica Journal*.

\* \* \* "The last named article is a critical review of the insurance companies and their style of business, showing the tricks of making statements, the schemes for swallowing up the smaller concerns, etc., etc. It gives a high character to the Mutual Benefit of this city for soundness and fair dealing, and is especially severe upon the New York Equitable, which it charges with a grasping policy in the treatment of mortgage debtors and others."—*Newark Advertiser*.

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